406

406
4.51

37

Quarterly

Vol. XVIII. Part IV

THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH MADRAS

(Founded by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.)

June 1949

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
3 - NOV 1951
MADRAS

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MYLAPORE
MADRAS

1951

Annual Subs., Inland, Rs. 8. Foreign, 14 Shillings

Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive

JL
Om, N29
N51. 18'4

CONTENTS

Vol. XVIII] [Part IV

		Pages
Gaṇeśa: Clue to a Cult and a Culture: T. G. Aravamuthan	...	221—245
Sobriquets in Sanskrit: V. Raghavan	...	246—262
Śaktism and Tantras: Shiv Nath Sharma	...	263—268
Prāsa in Bhāsa: U. Venkatakrishna Rao	...	269—271
Book Reviews	...	272—284
Supplements:		
Tolkāppiyam: Poruḷ—Kaṟpiyal: Ed. P. S Subrahmanya Sastri	...	91— 98
Avantisundarīkathāsāra: Ed. G. Harihara Sastri	...	81— 88

98475

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRA
8 - NOV 195
MADRAS

GANESA:

Clue to a Cult and a Culture

BY

T. G. Aravamuthan

I

Man's perception of the phenomena of nature is at the root of his apprehension of aspects of the supernatural and the divine. The realisation of each aspect of the divine, which comes to him from his appreciation of each aspect of nature, leads to a crystallisation of each aspect, in his mind, in a symbol or in other shape the most noble of which is the anthropomorphic. With every advance which he makes in the comprehension of the several aspects of nature's facts and mysteries, whether they appeal to him through his physical senses or through his other faculties, he realises in what subtle and endless combinations and variations these aspects mingle. This realisation is accompanied by correspondingly varied precipitations in his mind,— embodiments of feeling,— of equally complex symbols in which his mind is the recipient or, it may be, by formulations— products of reasoning,— of shapes in which the divine comes to have form of some kind through a cogitation in which the mind is active fabricator. The finest of these forms are, again, anthropomorphic, though of complex composition and though invested with varied attributes. Before each such symbol or shape man goes on his knees in absolute surrender: he melts in tears of poignant regret and he holds out his hands in eager solicitation.

To the man of faith these symbols and shapes embody descents of the divine to earth to dwell among men and to ennoble and save them. To those to whom a presumption against the divine is a creed these are but formulations, or embodiments, of man's self-induced responses to his own hopes and aspirations and they are futile amulets fabricated by him against his own doubts, despairs and misdeeds.

For an understanding, however, of the processes which have resulted in these symbols and shapes it does not matter

much whether we treat them as precipitations or as formulations. Even precipitations having to wind through the convolutions of the human mind, an apprehension of them is bound to suffer, at least in part, from the very infirmities to which the formulations are liable. It may be that the symbols and shapes are degradations of the divine or that they are sublimations of the human; howsoever this may be, it is not improbable that the course of the debasement and the course of the sublimation are virtually the converses of each other. So, a study of either one of the processes may prove as illuminating as a study of the other.

The examination of the processes by which the idea and the form of Gaṇeśa arose,— whether they were revealed by precipitation or were reached by sublimation,— is bound to be specially illuminating, for, Gaṇeśa remains zoomorphic in physical features, notwithstanding that in gait he is anthropomorphic, and yet he has often been deemed deity without equal. An investigation along lines which appeal to the anthropologist and others of his ilk,— an analysis of the mode in which the god may be taken to have been formulated,— may not fail to illuminate the processes by which precipitation has given us this God.

II

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati,— Lord, or Chief, of a Horde, or of Hordes,— is best characterised by one of his many names, Vighneśa, Lord of Obstacles (with the variant, Vighna-Nāyaka), expressing as it does very succinctly the two-fold role he fills,— as the god who interposes obstacles and as the god who removes them. His associations are apparently with benevolent Gaṇas and Yakshas and with malevolent Vināyakas. He is presented in the guise of an elephant standing upright. This form and the association with hordes have proved obstacles to an understanding of his character and of his proper place in the culture to which he pertains. How a being who, in his upright posture may not easily maintain his balance, could hale in or heave off impediments and why he should be connected with hordes and hosts have been puzzles. Those who have no use for symbols and have no patience with a god who delights in a preposterously long nose, a huge paunch, large ears and tiny eyes avert their eyes from him with a broad smile and also turn away with amusement from a people who

could make a god of him. Indeed, he has been at special pains to justify, even in his own case, his sobriquet of Interposer of Obstacles,— raising impediments to even a recognition of his importance and to an appreciation of the cast of thought of his devotees. But, he is not untrue to his other role of Remover of Obstacles; he is not unwilling to reveal himself in his true character and to help us to understand the significance of the cult which he symbolises and of its place in the culture in which it has arisen.

Gaṇeśa is much more than Gaṇapati or Vighneśvara. He is Gajānana or Elephant-Face, Lambodara or Pot-Belly, Vināyaka or Lack-Lord, and Siddhidātā or Grantor of Success. He wears a serpent across his torso and he manages to 'ride' a rodent which may be rat, mouse or 'bandicoot'. He is son to Śiva and he has a place in the groups attendant on Viṣṇu,— or, on an attendant on Viṣṇu.[1] He has a high reputation for wisdom and he holds a book ostentatiously. In other hands he holds a hatchet, a crook, a noose which he is ready to fling, a pomegranate and a ball of sugared rice.

Gaṇeśa's elephantine form it is that has been generally accepted as the clue to his origin. It has been asserted that he is primarily a totem-animal which has achieved godhead. It has been suggested that his mount (vāhana), the rat, being associated in some cultures with night, he must be Sun-God, vanquishing night. The stout, thick-set form which he shares with the Gaṇas, elves familiar in Indian folklore, has been relied on for placing him in the same class with the Yakṣas, and both Gaṇas and Yakṣas have been assumed to be non-Aryan in conception. Gaṇeśa being unrecognised as Vedic deity and being found referred to in later times as the god of the Śūdras, it has been argued that he arose out of the lowest layer of superstition, totem worship and agrarian rites,— perhaps as a harvest god,— that for century upon century he abode at the foot of the sacred tree of the pre-Aryan village, perhaps a Dravidian one, and that by little and by little he worked his way to the company of the gods who had grown up in

---

II.—1. Invocation to *Vishṇu-Sahasra-Nāma*, according as Viṣvaksena is taken to be Viṣṇu's Senāpati or to be Viṣṇu himself. If Viṣvaksena is the former, Gaṇapati is an attendant on one who, in the Śaivite hierarchy of gods, is Kārttikeya or Skanda, his younger brother in that system.

India under Aryan auspices.[2] It has been even said that he is among the rabble of evil spirits associated with orgiastic rites arisen from the depths of magical and spiritualistic divagations.[3]

None of these conjectures accounts, however, for even the main features of this god. On the lines on which these speculations run there is no accounting for the elephant juggling with impediments or showering success. It is not even possible to account adequately for the elephant having been chosen for the role of Lord over the Gaṇas or Hordes. Should we assume that, elephants being prone to herd and to be captained by a leader, Gaṇapati was not unnaturally thought of in the elephantine form, we shall be ignoring the important fact that other animals than elephants are also given to herding under a captain. What is more, we shall be unable to account for the name Gaṇapati importing leadership over not only one horde but over a number of hordes as well, for we know of no animals the more masterly members of which assume captaincy over a number of herds. There can be no explaining features such as a serpent having wound itself round his body nor for his holding a hatchet or a crook in his hands nor for his being associated with both Śiva and Viṣṇu. The elephant has not turned up as a god in any primitive culture with even the rudiments of any of the features which he has in Indian culture. A totemistic origin is impossible for a variety of reasons. It is inconsistent with this god being acceptable to all and sundry, including those rank devotees of Viṣṇu who demur to making a bow to Śiva, and, so, to his son. No one claims genetic descent from him. The elephant is not taboo to any class or group or in any form. The hypothesis of a proto-Indian origin presents itself most readily to the anthropologist puzzled by such considerations, but it is a leap in the dark in the total absence of early evidence for the features of either the culture of that age or of the several components of that culture. The anthropological quest for the origins and the growth of this god,— from animal to god, from a hypothetical primitive culture into another culture of varied and noble web and woof,— has failed signally. Indeed, it has been admitted that a deep

---

2. See, for instance, A. Getty, *Ganesa*, (1936), 1-5, xv-xvii.
3. A. Foucher, in *Ib.*, xxi-xxii.

feeling of frustration grows on him who seeks to unveil the mystery of this god's origin.[4]

A new approach to this problem in origins and evolution is necessary. The clues to this god's history must account, not only for a few of the features of the god picked up almost at random, but must also account for all those characteristics, functions and associations which are at all significant. And, if we find any clue leading us to a culture for which we have early evidence, we may not discard it because it does not take us to another culture in which we had been seeking clues, knowing though we had done that evidences for the components of that culture are not early.

III

Out of the conviction of poor man that a power beyond him capriciously piles up obstacles in his path to prosperity or whisks them away is born the two-phased Lord of Obstacles,—the Lord who conjures obstacles not only in but also out. From the feeling that the flow of boons from a beneficent providence is impeded or is speeded by this Lord of Obstacles arises the postulate of a power which passively grants success by permitting the boons to reach the beneficiary: this passive power, with its counterpart which actively confers boons or even speeds them along and, so, confers and expedites success, becomes the god Siddhidātā, the Grantor of Success.

If early man had sought to visualize a Lord of Obstacles in human shape he could have done little more than conceive of him as a person built sturdily and having arms long enough to clutch at desirable objects at a distance and pull them towards himself and to push undesirable objects far away. And if early man had thought of putting weapons or implements in the god's hands to help him in his efforts he could, in those early days when complex implements and instruments had not been devised, have thought of none more handy than a hatchet with which to hack and hew through obstacles and a long-staffed crook which he could thrust forward, or a noose or lasso which he could fling afar, so that getting a hold on, or round, distant objects he could pull them toward. Our Lord of Obstacles, Vighneśa, does answer admirably to this possible conception: he

4. Foucher, in *Ib.*, xvi.

is armed with an axe or a hatchet and he holds the aṅkuśa or crook and he plies a lasso.

Whether early man in India had conceived of a god of obstacles and what forms he had invested him with, if he had worked out such a god, may not be pronounced upon without examining whether the *Ṛg-Veda*, the earliest available literary evidence for Indian culture in any of its phases, does not refer to him directly or indirectly. Should this god be discovered in the *Ṛg-Veda* a most important clue would be obtained to the growth of Indian culture.

Of godlings whose characteristics correspond in parts to those of Vighneśa-Siddhidātā there is evidence in the *Ṛg-Veda*: rather, we have the foreshadowings of the integration of aspects of more than one god of the *Ṛg-Veda* into a god who emerges ultimately as Gaṇeśa as he is known to-day.

Powers similar to those of Vighneśa are imputed in the *Ṛg-Veda* to an interesting group of divinities, the Maruts, the Winds-Gods. The Maruts interpose or remove obstacles in one form or another. They are capable of instigating obstruction and enmity;[1] evil can come from them;[2] with blazing weapons they assault those who incur their displeasure;[3] immoveable themselves they are subverters of what are stable;[4] they move mountains;[5] like elephants they break down forests;[6] and, again, like elephants they drive clouds asunder;[7] they are shakers[8] and agitators,[9] their function being agitation.[10] The impediments to achievement which they interpose are, thus, very formidable. The Maruts, have, however, countervailing virtues. There is no propeller, no obstructor, of him whom they protect;[11] they are invoked to remove those

---

III—1. RV., 1.6.4; 1.39. 8. Notwithstanding that I have had to gather my material from the *Ṛg-Veda* (cited here as *RV.*) in my own way, my obligations to A. A. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology* (1897), are considerable, as is inevitable, extending, sometimes, even to the phrasing.

2. RV., 1.39. 8.

3. RV., 7. 56. 9; 1.172. 2; 7. 57. 4.

4. RV., 1. 64. 11.

5. RV., 1. 37. 7.

6. RV., 1. 64. 7.

7. RV., 1. 64. 11; 5. 52. 9.

8. RV., 1. 39.

9. RV., 7. 56. 8; 7. 58. 4; 8. 20. 16.

10. RV., 3. 58. 2.

11. RV., 6. 66. 8.

who bear hatred;[12] they scatter hostile men;[13] they keep aloof every adversary;[14] they are doers of good works by which they promote the welfare of heaven and earth;[15] they confer wealth;[16] when they fit out their chariot the mountains depart;[17] they move and restrain mountains;[18] at their coming mountains and rivers are curbed;[19] they are destroyers and devourers of the malevolent;[20] they avert the stone and the arrow;[21] they come with their protections and devour enemies;[22] they are dispensers of a grace which helps the wretched across all anguish, and their power approaches the devotees just as a cow, teeming with milk, runs to her calf.[23] It turns out, thus, that the provoking of animosities and obstructions and the quelling of them,— functions which are found to be conjoint in Vighneśa,— are found repeated in the Maruts. The good and the ill winds that they are, they waft in impediments or they waft them away. That we are not wrong in seeing Vighneśa in the Maruts is shown by the interesting circumstance that the Maruts are, like Vighneśa, armed with the axe.[24]

The Maruts are numerous, perhaps a thousand,[25] or thrice sixty,[26] or thrice seven.[27] They are related to each other; they have a common origin;[28] they are brothers of whom none is older and none is younger;[29] growing up together,[30] none holding a middle rank,[31] they are of one age, one abode and one dignity;[32] they are of one mind.[33] So close are they that they form one group, troupe or host, gaṇa.[34] One illustrious name is given to them all,[35] though they are also found mentioned as grouped into a number of hosts,[36] being, thought of, sometimes, as seven sevens.[37]

---

12. RV., 7. 58. 6.
13. RV., 6. 56. 24.
14. RV., 1. 85. 3.
15. RV., 1. 85. 1.
16. RV., 1. 64. 5.
17. RV., 8. 7. 2.
18. RV., 8. 7. 34.
19. RV., 8. 7. 2, 5.
20. RV., 5. 61. 16; 1. 19. 5.
21. RV., 1. 172. 2.
22. RV., 7. 59. 9.
23. RV., 2. 34. 15.
24. RV., 1. 37. 2; 1. 88. 3; 5. 33. 4; 5. 57. 2; 8. 20. 4.
25. RV., 1. 166. 2.
26. RV., 8. 85. 8.
27. RV., 1. 133. 6.
28. RV., 8. 20. 21.
29. RV., 5.51. 6; 5.60. 5.
30. RV., 5. 60. 5.
31. RV., 5. 59. 6.
32. RV., 1. 165. 1; 7. 56. 1,
33. RV., 2.34. 3,5,6; 8.20.21.
34. RV., 1. 14. 3; 1. 38. 15; 1. 64. 12; 1. 87. 4; 3. 32. 2; 3. 47. 4; 5. 52. 13,14; 5 53. 10.
35. RV., 8. 20. 13.
36. RV., 1. 64. 9; 2. 23. 1; 5. 53. 11; 5. 60. 8; 8. 23. 4; 10. 112. 9.
37. RV., 5. 52. 17.

One Gaṇapati in the *Ṛg-Veda* is Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati, Lord of Prayer, who is gaṇānām gaṇapati,[38] chief of the hosts of gaṇas. All the companies, hosts, of the deities attend on him.[39] One of these companies of deities expressly and specifically associated with him is a singing host, gaṇa, that accompanies him.[40] Apparently, other singers too attended on him[41] and other hosts too were under his control, though we have no specific mention of them. His weapon is an axe,[42] glorified perhaps into a golden hatchet.[43]

That Bṛhaspati may be the Gaṇapati of the Maruts-horde, as of other hordes, is indicated by the axe being a weapon common to both. This is confirmed by three circumstances. One of these is that the Maruts are compared to priests,[44] whose chief is Bṛhaspati,[45] the wise priest,[46] and the Maruts themselves are profoundly wise.[47] The other is that the Maruts are singers,[48] making music with even the pipe,[49] and apparently forming one of the singing hosts that accompany Bṛhaspati. The third is that Bṛhaspati is himself an overcomer of difficulties.[50]

Bṛhaspati is also Sadasaspati, Lord of the Gathering.[51] This lordship implies naturally the gifts of speech and of learning and of the vision which headship of a 'sadas' calls for, and it secures for him the later distinction of Vācaspati, 'Lord of Speech'.

The Maruts are sons of Rudra,[52] the Śiva of at least later times, and they are known as Rudras[53] and Rudriyas.[54] The double character which we associate with Vighneśa and with the Maruts is an inheritance from the father of the Maruts, for Rudra is of the same double personality.[55] Capa-

38. RV., 2. 23. 1.
39. RV., 5. 51. 12.
40. RV., 4. 50. 5.
41. RV., 10. 14. 3.
42. RV., 10. 53. 9.
43. RV., 7. 97. 7.
44. RV., 10. 78. 1.
45. RV., 1.40.2; 2. 24. 9; 2. 1. 3; 4. 50. 8.
46. RV., 1. 190. 2.
47. RV., 5. 87. 9.
48. RV., 1. 19. 4; 1. 166. 7; 5. 52.1; 5. 57. 5; 5. 60. 8.
49. RV., 1. 85. 10.
50. RV., 10. 182. 1.
51. RV., 1. 21. 5.
52. RV., 1 85 2; 1.114.8,9; 2. 33. 1; 2 34. 10; 5. 60. 5; 7. 56.1; 8. 20. 17.
53 RV., 1. 39. 4, 7; 1. 64 2; 2. 34. 13; 5. 42. 15; 6. 50. 4; 6. 66. 11; 8. 20. 17.
54. RV., 1. 38. 7; 2. 34. 10.
55. Śiva (Rudra) seems to appear under the name Gaṇeśa on coins of the Indo-Kushan king Huvishka: J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, (1941), 137-8.

ble of ill-will and anger,[56] fierce and destructive like a wild beast,[57] and none too slow to slay,[58] he is implored to avert wrath and ill-will,[59] malevolence and the slaying bolt,[60] and to preserve from calamity,[61] to produce welfare for man and beast,[62] and to repel all the assaults of iniquity.[63]

Two other features of the Maruts have also to be taken note of. They are a-rājinas, without a ruler,[64] a paraphrase of Vi-nāyakas, 'Sans-Superior.' They bestow imperishable grain-seed, which is life-sustaining and auspicious wealth.[65]

If, now, we assume an assimilation of features of the Maruts and of Bṛhaspati we get a deity who in his functions and characteristics is Vighneśa, Siddhidātā, Gaṇapati and Vināyaka, and has a reputation for wisdom and learning. He becomes son to Rudra-Śiva. He is entitled to ply the axe of the Maruts and of Bṛhaspati and to hold a book, as symbolising Bṛhaspati's wisdom, and a ball of rice in variation of, say, a handful of the grain-seed of the Maruts. The rat, or mouse, cannot but be associated with this god, for where the grain of the Maruts abounds there the rat abides.[66] The pomegranate fruit, packed close with seed, is an excellent symbol of fertility, abundance and prosperity and is as apposite in the god's hand as the rice-ball.

The test of the appropriateness of this surmise is that Vighneśa should bear the vestiges of his origins in the multitudes of powers represented by the Maruts and by the Gaṇas of Bṛhaspati. Vighneśa does satisfy this test: he is referred to in later literature as Gaṇapati in the singular[67] and as

---

56. RV., 2. 33. 4-6, 15.

57. RV., 2. 33. 11.

58. RV., 4. 3. 6. It has been well said that 'the only deity' of the *Ṛg-Veda* 'in whom injurious features are at all prominent is Rudra': Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 18.

59. RV., 1.114. 4; 2.33. 7.

60. RV., 2. 33. 1,11,14; 6. 28. 7.

61. RV., 5. 51. 13.

62. RV., 1. 43. 6.

63. RV., 2. 33. 3.

64. RV., 8. 7. 23.

65. RV., 5. 53. 13.

66. The mouse may be accounted for otherwise also, but only on later evidence; the mouse is an offering, paśu, appropriate to Rudra: *Yajur-Veda*: *Vāj. Samhita*, 3. 57; *Taitt. Samhita*, 1. 8. 6.

67. *Yajur-Veda*: *Vāj. Samhita*, 22. 30.

Gaṇapatis in the plural,[68] and his functions are found assigned to the hordes of the Gaṇas and Vināyakas.

An assimilation of features of the Maruts and of Bṛhaspati such as is postutated here is not an improbability. The assimilation of different deities, especially of deities taken in twos, is a characteristic of the culture of the *Ṛg-Veda*: for instance, Mitra and Varuṇa coalesce into Mitrāvaruṇāu and Soma and Rudra coalesce into Somārudrāu.

Not, however, till this God's association with the serpent, his assumption of the elephantine form and his approximation to such personalities as Gaṇas and Yakṣas are explained along these lines and the beginnings of his rise to Brahmanhood are indicated can we feel confident of the justness of seeing this god among the Vedic divinities.

IV

The serpent round the torso of this amalgam of the Maruts and Bṛhaspati may be sought to be accounted for on the assumption that it was received by him as inheritance from Rudra, it being notorious that Śiva, the modern Rudra, carries the serpent on his person as a great pet, but there is no indication in the *Ṛg-Veda* of an association of the serpent with Rudra. The *Ṛg-Veda* does contain broad hints of Rudra's unconventional ways but they are by no means enough to establish an association between the reptile and Rudra. The association of Vighneśa and serpent must have come about otherwise.

Another Gaṇapati is known to the *Ṛg-Veda*, and he is Indra, who too is called Lord of Hordes or Companies, gaṇas,[1] and Leader of Hosts, human and divine.[2] He has the Maruts for such close companions and attendants,[3]— even as attendant priests,[4]— that he is at least once referred to as brother or father of the Maruts[5] and he is frequently said to be the deity attended on by the Maruts. Indeed, he is chief of the Maruts[6] and his exploits are mostly achieved in their

---

68. *Ib.*, 16. 25.

IV—1. RV., 10. 112. 9.
2. RV., 3. 34. 2.
3. RV., 1. 23. 7; 3. 32. 2; 3. 35. 9.
4. RV., 5. 29. 3; 10.78. 1
5. RV., 1. 100. 5
6. RV.. 1. 170. 2; 1. 23. 8; 3. 47. 5.

company.[7] Like a wild elephant he roams showering his bounty.[8] These are unmistakable similarities between our god and Indra.[9] In the most notable of Indra's victories,— an epic one over the demon Vṛtra in which he slew the demon and obtained the title of Vṛtra-Slayer,— his principal associates were the Maruts;[10] so eager were they in the slaying that they demolished his precious limbs and rent him joint by joint.[11] Vṛtra was great obstructor[12] and his slaughter brought about a removal of the obstruction.[13] His form is that of ahi, serpent, and the names Vṛtra and Ahi are applied to him indifferently.[14] If we assume that Indra, vanquishing Vṛtra the serpent, wore him on his person as trophy, quelled or killed, we shall not find it difficult to accept that the similarities between Vighneśa and Indra are so close that it is beyond contradiction that Indra is one of the gods who has gone to the making of Gaṇeśa.

Confirmation of this conviction is found in such circumstances as the crook being a weapon which Indra is invoked to use for bestowing wealth[15] and offerings of grain[16] and of graincakes[17] being made to Indra and the rat being, therefore, in close, though covert, proximity to Indra. The assimilation that later operated to merge Indra in Viṣṇu led apparently to Vighneśa being accepted for a camp-follower of Viṣṇu.[18]

The Maruts have a higher function than the dissolving of obstacles to material prosperity. Swift to hear the repining sighs of the worshipper, they implant themselves in his

---

7. RV., 1. 100; 1. 165; 10.65.

8. RV., 8. 33. 8.

9. It is likely that Indra was represented as an elephant on coins of two Indo-Greek kings,— Eucratides and Antialcidas: Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1941), 162-3. See my *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942), 44-5, fn. 83.

10. RV., 1.23.9; 8. 65. 2, 3; 3. 47. 3, 4; 8. 7. 24; 3. 32. 4; 10. 73.1; 10. 113. 3.

11. RV., 10. 73. 6; 8. 7. 23.

12. RV., 6. 20. 2; 6. 72. 3; 4. 17. 3; 10. 113. 8.

13. RV., 1. 32. 11; 1. 51. 4.

14. RV., 1.32; 8.82. 2; 4.17. 1; see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 152-3, 158-9; A. Bergaigne, *Religion Vedique*, (1883), 2: 204.

15. RV., 8. 17. 10; 3. 45. 4.

16. RV., 1. 16. 2; 3. 43. 4; 3. 52. 7.

17. RV., 3. 52. 8.

18. See fn. 1 above.

heart, purify him, cure his defects, convey him beyond sin and confer bliss on him.[19] These are the elements from which flows the identification of Vighneśa with Brahman.

The Vighneśa who emerges from this assimilation of features of the Maruts, Rudra, Bṛhaspati and Indra is a perfect counterpart of the Vighneśa of popular Hinduism, including that aspect of it in which Vighneśa is Brahman, except for the lack of the elephantine features.

V

In the *Ṛg-Veda* a few gods are compared to animals and a few individual animals are thought of as godlings, and it is in accord with this tenor that, as pointed out earlier, the Maruts are compared to elephants in breaking down forests and driving clouds apart and Indra to a wild elephant on the rampage which showers bountifully the peculiar liquid which it develops in seasons of rut.[1] A fancy was current in later times that four huge elephants of another region, including Airāvata, seized with their trunks the winds which blew there irregularly from all directions and then let them out so as to reach this earth and make the creatures here breathe and live.[2] This is a clear association of elephants with the Maruts and it may well have come down from early times,[3] there being nothing in it to mark it as a late development. Apparently, associations such as these had commended themselves greatly to the people among whom the *Ṛg-Veda* had arisen when they realised that the elephant was an excellent theriomorphic counterpart to the anthropomorphic Maruts.

Had the rhapsodists of the *Ṛg-Veda* deliberately set about conceiving of the Lord of Obstacles,— the version in the singular of the plural Maruts,— in the guise of an animal, their search for a beast which could play the role must inevitably have led them to one of two creatures,— the ape with its pair of arms which it uses just as an anthropomorphic Vighneśa may use his, or to the elephant, the animal with one long and powerful arm which it may stretch forward or sideward to pull or push together, or to scatter pell-mell, to drag and pile up impediments in the path of progress and to push away and thrust

19. RV., 10.36.7; 2.34.15; 6.66.4.

V.—1. RV., 1. 64. 7, 11; 5. 52. 9.
2. *Mahā-Bhārata*, 6 (*Bhīshma-*): 12: 32-8.
3. The Maruts blow the clouds hither and thither, and Indra and Vishṇu ride the clouds: RV., 1.155.1.

aside obstacles. The choice fell on the elephant for, probably, the reasons that the similarity to the Maruts and to Indra was already established, as in the *Rg-Veda*, and, perhaps, the ape stood excluded because of another form, or derivative, of the Maruts, the ape-looking Hanumān, having already been evolved. The elephant has the stolidity and nobility appropriate to the role of Lord of Obstacles and it is not inapt to learn to hold the hatchet or the crook in its proboscis and to ply hatchet and crook so as to augment the reach of the proboscis. Indeed, it is the only animal that may appropriately fill the character of Vighneśa. Had the Ṛg-Vedic people, accepting the elephant for the animal version of the Maruts as Lords of Obstacles, asked it to rear on its hind legs so as to befit it to take rank, as the Maruts, beside their anthropomorphic gods, they would straightaway have had their Gajānana, Elephant-Face, and Lambodara, Pot-Belly, the perfect prototype of the Gaṇeśa of all subsequent time. The aṅkuśa, the elephant-goad, is an appropriate transformation of the crook. The rat is an inevitable attendant on the elephant which has an insatiable appetite for grain. The intelligence of the elephant being proverbial the affinity of the beast to Bṛhaspati is undeniable. The elephant's delight in sucking up water in its trunk and discharging it in showers over himself or at those who stand nearby and its proneness to exude voluminously a special liquid when it is in rut are paralleled by the readiness with which the Maruts, taking after their father Rudra, who is a showerer,[4] take pride in their abounding in drops[5] and prove themselves generous showerers[6] and shedders of water[7],—rain.[8]

There can now be no doubt about our Vighneśa-Gaṇapati-Gajānana being no other than Maruts-Rudra-Bṛhaspti-Indra.[9]

---

4. RV., 1.87.4; 8. 20. 3.
5. RV., 6.66.3; 7.58.5.
6. RV., 7.56.18,20,21; 7.58.6.
7. RV., 7. 56. 12.
8. RV., 1. 38. 9. The idea that elephants blow the winds out of their trunks, *Mahā-Bhārata*, 6 (*Bhishma-*): 12: 36-8, must go back to a time when the association of the Maruts with the elephant started.

9. A curious tale of the origin of the elephant occurs in Vedic literature. Aditi, having brought forth seven sons, well-formed, 'the gods, sons of Aditi', gave birth also to an eighth son,

VI

It is clearly not as a beast that the elephant entered the Hindu Pantheon. The moment the animal reared up and walked erect into the Pantheon, asseverating that it was the Marut-horde, its pendulous proboscis and its protuberant paunch caught the popular eye unduly and obscured its great height; the animal godling came to be taken for a short and fat Gaṇa and for a thick-set and pot-bellied Yaksha.[1] But, these fancies of resemblances led to curious results. Apparently, his devotees felt that for their god to pertain to a mere gaṇa was for him to be too undistinguished and, so, perhaps, they gave him rank as gaṇa-lord, Gaṇapati, and, in due course, identified him with Bṛhaspati, the Gaṇapati *par excellence*. Apparently, too, the fancy of the god's resemblance to a Yakṣa led to the rise of popular conceptions based on the different significations which that name-word can yield, as is only too obvious in the *Ṛg-Veda*.[2] Firstly, derived from the root *yakṣ*, 'to hasten along, to rush after, to hunt, to try to injure or kill',[3] this Yakṣa god's identity with the swiftly blowing and potently injurious Maruts should have proved irresistible. Secondly, derived from *yaj*, 'to adore, to worship, to sacrifice, to give, to bestow', this Yakṣa god's eligibility for adoration and worship, and his ability to secure for his devotees the things they set their minds on, including success, should have stood emphasised, and should, in due course, have equated him to a combination of the Maruts and Indra,—a combination not unknown to the *Ṛg-Veda*. Thirdly, the word 'Yakṣa' having had also a

---

unformed, Mārtāṇḍa,— 'a mere lump of bodily matter, as broad as it was high'. The seven well-formed sons trimming this lump to fashion it as man is fashioned, Vivasvat emerged an Āditya, and the flesh that was trimmed off as excrescence and thrown into a heap became the elephant (*Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 1. 3. 3-4). If this implies an association of the elephant with Sūrya, we may have to assume an assimilation of Sūrya as well in the emergence of Vighneśa.

VI.—1. This explanation had not occurred to A. K. Coomaraswamy: see his *Yakshas* (1928), 1 : 7.

2. RV., 1. 190. 4; 4. 3. 13; 5. 70. 4; 7. 56. 16; 7. 61. 5; 7. 88. 6; 10. 88. 13.

3. Muller (Max), *Vedic Hymns* (*SBE*), 1: 377, 335.

well-established application to a great power, or great divinity, being applied to Varuṇa[4] and to Brahman,[5] in at least later Vedic literature, the god's elevation into a great god should have been inevitable. There can, thus, be little doubt but that this god, in his egregious efforts to sink to mere gaṇa-hood and yakṣa-ship, managed to come full circle to his original and notable character of Maruts-Rudra-Bṛhaspati-Indra, and to take rank with Brahman, while yet remaining Gaṇa and Yakṣa.

Vighneśa-Gajānana is an unmistakable animalization of a deity who started with an anthropomorphic form as is vouched for not only by his origin having been in an assimilation of Bṛhaspati, Indra, Rudra and the Maruts, all of whom are deities conceived of in human shape, but also by the animal having been made to stand erect like man. The god had sunk into an elephant but could not go on all fours as his votaries wished him to go erect. Bestialization and humanization were at work simultaneously. This strange phenomenon is to be imputed to what, at first sight, may appear to be a strain of whimsicality in the fancy and the thought of the Ṛg-Vedic people. The *Ṛg-Veda* does bear testimony to this trait of theirs. Agni is both bull and cow:[6] he is son to Dyāvā-Pṛthivī, though they are his issue:[7] this dual divinity, Dyāvā-Pṛthivī, forms a group of a father and mother,[8] a pair of fathers,[9] a pair of mothers,[10] a pair of sisters.[11] Sūrya is animate as bird,[12] bull,[13] steed[14], and is inanimate as wheel,[15]

---

4. RV., 1. 24. 7; AV., 10. 7. 38, and *Mahā-Bhārata*, 3. 272. 454; 12. 207. 13, taken together, integrating Varuṇa, Brahman, and Nārāyaṇa: Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas* (1931), 2: 2.

5. *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 1. 1; *Taittirīya-Br.*, 3. 12. 3. 1; *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upanishad*, 5. 4; *Kena-Up.*, 3. 15; *Jaiminīya-Up. Br.*, 4. 20; all cited by Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas* (1931), 2: 3.

6. RV., 10. 5. 7.
7. RV., 1. 160. 3, 4.
8. RV., 1. 160. 2.
9. RV., 1. 160. 3; 7. 53. 2.
10. RV., 1. 159. 3.
11. RV., 1. 185. 5.
12. RV., 5. 47. 3; 10. 177. 1, 2.
13. RV., 5. 47. 3; 10. 189. 1.
14. RV., 7. 77. 3.
15. RV., 4. 30. 4; 5. 29. 10.

stone,[16] and gem:[17] he has three fathers and three mothers.[18] The Aśvins are successively compared to two heroes in a car, a pair of goats, two women, husband and wife, a pair of horns, two troops and so on, variously and endlessly.[19] The Ṛg-Vedic mind flits from fancy to fancy without regard to consistency or propriety: even an accidental or an insignificant similarity is enough for it to found an identity on: a whim of a moment becomes a classic metaphor of an age. This cast of mind it is that appears to be responsible for the transformation of Vighneśa into Gajānana. This is no mere whimsicality. It is a strain of the mode of thought which has been inadequately termed Pantheism and of the spirit of eclecticism which is so characteristic of Hinduism. The genial tolerance which is a mark of Hinduism comes down from Ṛg-Vedic temperament.

It may be that a first thought was to break short both the tusks of the elephant Gajānana, so as to free the trunk, its hand, from the cramping proximity of the tusks and to make it more effective in dealing with impediments and it may be that when one of the tusks was broken a second thought came that an one-tusked Gajānana, son to Rudra, now appropriately Eka-danta, One-Tusked, could be set up as counterpart to Eka-śṛṅga, One-Horned, god associated with Viṣṇu.[20] Thus it is, perhaps, that Vighneśa became and remains one-tusked. The broken tusk, sharp at one end, was a handy lance, but was even handier as a stylus with which the wise god could inscribe the *Mahā-Bhārata* to the dictation of poet Vyāsa.

VII

So completely is the *Ṛg-Veda* able, thus, to account for the features and the characteristics of this god,— in every phase and in every detail,— that it is wasted effort to look for traces of any fraction of his make-up in a culture other than the Ṛg-Vedic. Indeed, it explains even how the notion of a white elephant got afoot when no elephant of that complexion is

16. RV., 7. 63. 4.
17. RV., 5. 47. 3.
18. RV., 1. 164. 10.
19. RV., 2. 39.
20. Śiva and Viṣṇu are both equated to this god; *Mahā-Bhārata*, 3 (*Vana-*): 39: 79; 13 (*Anu-*): 149: 79.

known to nature[1] except as a freak: the Maruts are, according to the *Ṛg-Veda*, white in colour.[2] Indra's white elephant is, in all probability, the Marut-horde, conceived of as the mount on which he sallied forth against Vṛtra.

The essence of the Vighneśa-Siddhidātā cult is the anxiety for the removal of obstacles to progress and to bliss and of sin,— the idea which the Maruts typify,— and for the achievement of that removal to enable success to be attained,— the idea for which Indra stands. The need for circumspection, forethought, wisdom, faith and prayer for securing the removal of obstacles and sin is what Bṛhaspati represents.

This deity is not found *in propria persona* in the *Ṛg-Veda* but is in it in spirit. It may be that if much more of the literature of which the *Ṛg-Veda* is only a tiny section were available to us we might find him in it, but it is indubitable that he must have grown into a full-fledged god when the literature of the *Ṛg*-Vedic milieu was still in the process of active growth and it was possible for aspects of the Maruts, Rudra, Bṛhaspati and Indra to get assimilated into a deity. While assimilations in the *Ṛg-Veda* into a composite god are ordinarily limited to aspects of two gods, the assimilations which we have to grant, if the suggestion advanced here is correct, extend to more than two gods at a time: the dual divinities familiar in the *Ṛg-Veda* stand supplemented by triple, and, may be, by plural divinities. This feature may or may not be a development later than the *Ṛg-Veda*: if it is a later one, the emergence of Vighneśa-Gajānana as a deity in his own right may be later than that anthology. But it may not be appreciably later, for the deity could not have arisen when there was a veering from the spirit of that *Veda* and the impetus to an assimilation of aspects of its divinities was growing weak.

It is not, however, till we reach a period a little prior to the beginnings of the Christian era that he is specifically mentioned under one or other of the names by which he is now known

---

VII. 1.—Foucher, in Getty, *Ganesa*, xvi, notes 'the peculiar regard in which the white elephant is held in those parts of Indo-China where Indian influence once prevailed', and yet despairs of an explanation. It is noteworthy that the Indian had no partiality for the human albino, equally a freak.

2. RV., 7. 56. 4.

to us,[3] though, even then, he is not found bearing the elephantine form. Similarly, it is not till the same period is reached that we chance on any figured representation of this deity, either in animal or in human shape.[4] So it is that it has been held that he must have had his birth in the comparatively recent times bordering on the beginnings of the Christian era. Now that, however, it has become clear that the god is a very ancient one we shall have to treat the much later literature and the survivals of sculptures as vestiges all too inadequate in volume for the tracing of the origins and the developments of gods such as he.[5] Not unless we are willing

---

3. *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*, 1.271, gives the earliest reference, under the name of Vināyaka, if *Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra*, 2. 5.83-90, in which the god is mentioned in his several names, Vighneśa, Vināyaka, Vakratuṇḍa and the like, is no part of the original work and cannot be assigned to 600-300 B.C.

4. A low relief of probably the first period of Amarāvati sculpture (200-100 B.C.) is the earliest figured representation known: J. Burgess, *Buddhist Sculptures of Amaravati*, pl. 30 (1); Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas* (1928), 1: 7. E. W. Hopkins, in *Epic Mythology* (1915), 206, concludes that the *Mahā-Bhārata* comes before Gaṇeśa is invented, little realising how old Gaṇeśa is.

5. How firm is the grip of the method developed by Anthropology and the allied disciplines, notwithstanding the inadequacy of their methods and the fallacies underlying them, including their failure to work out, for pre-historic or primitive cultures, any classifications by types or any systems of chronological stratification or of relative chronology and of dating the several impacts and interactions among these cultures, may be illustrated by the cases of two eminent scholars.

P. V. Kane in his monumental *History of Dharma-Sastra* (1941), 2: 213-7, 725-6, has given an admirable summary of what is known of Gaṇeśa. But, notwithstanding the discernment which comes naturally to him as the birthright of a native to the culture in which this god has risen and the profound understanding which is his as an erudite and versatile scholar who has not grown unsympathetic to that culture, he has been inhibited, by over-deference to the anthropological discipline, from giving due weight to the evidences we have of the god for the period prior to that in which the primitive cultures of the country could have had an effective say.

Coomaraswamy attributed Gaṇeśa to a culture other than the Ṛg-Vedic, not having first noticed the occurrence of the Yakṣa

to allow for developments for which there can be no testimony in the literary and the material remains which have sur-

---

idea in the *Ṛg-Veda*: see his *Yakshas*, pt. 1 (1928). Later, he found that the idea did have a place in that Veda: see *Ib.*, pt. 2 (1931). More: he had become convinced by then that 'quantitatively speaking, Indian art is to a greater extent than has been supposed, an illustration of Vedic ideas'; see *Ib.*, pt. 2: 16, 19. Still, he refrained from revising his early impressions: the incubus of Anthropology was still on his chest, notwithstanding that even early in his career he had delved deeply in that mystic literature of the west which approximates very closely to the spirit of the thought of India and that he had come into touch with Havell and the Tagores and Sister Nivedita, who had little regard for the methods of Anthropology. But, in three or four years after his *Yakshas*, he realised the utter inadequacy of the methods of the Pandits of the 'sciences' of Philology, Anthropology and Mythology and of their 'Comparative' versions to interpret the spirit, or to trace the growth, of ancient cultures like the Ṛg-Vedic or of modern cultures like the Hindu. Ever thereafter his strenuous endeavour was to ignore those methods and to steer clear of them. Evidently, suggestive work such as that of P. Mus on the Vedic origins of certain Buddhist notions, which, published in 1933, was just winning scholarly attention, served as catalyst in Coomaraswamy's mind and precipitated ideas which it had held in fine suspension. The scales had fallen from his eyes in even his youth, but the spell of the anthropological method had persisted. With his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (1935) he started a series of elucidations of the Vedic origins of things Indian which are of classic excellence. Such marvels of fullness, massiveness, clarity and maturity are this work and the numerous others on his theme which he kept on giving us in rapid succession that the material on which they are based must have lain with him ready collected for at least a decade and the conviction of the validity of what he was expounding must have been of even longer standing, though, unfortunately, he had declined them earlier acceptance and had denied them earlier exposition, through a predilection formed in early youth for the anthropological outlook.

Students who probe into Indian origins, especially Indian students, mistaking Coomaraswamy's works for elucidations of only topics of Art or of Buddhism,— misled by the titles of the better known of his works,— go in ignorance of the validity and the significance of the view of the development of Indian culture which he presented from about 1932 with a learning, a flair and

vived to us may we hope to progress in the elucidation of the transformations of Ṛg-Vedic ideas in later times.

It is necessary to confess that no account has been taken here of certain stories of Gaṇeśa which give other accounts of his origin. Of these mention need be made only of a tale which appears in variations; in brief, it is that Gaṇeśa was formed by Pārvatī out of the unguents which she used and out of the impurities which were washed from her body in her bath. It is not easy to see how tales such as these would fit in with the theory of origins developed here, but it is equally impossible to reconcile them with any of the theories now in the field. Their value cannot be much unless they point to a clue which is illuminative of this god's characteristics and functions. So fully, however, do all other relevant considerations fit into the theory advanced here that it is quite likely that the theory will ultimately receive confirmation from any clue which may be derived from these tales.

VIII

The probable lines of development may now, perhaps, be sketched in outline. The gods of the *Ṛg-Veda*, in perhaps even Ṛg-Vedic times, were slowly suffering transformations, mainly, if not solely, by diversified groupings of aspects of three or more of them, and through varied assimilations of several of them, which made them figure, in later times, as Brahman, Vishṇu, Śiva and the like. When this assimilation and transformation had not been long under way, Gaṇapati or Vighneśa was emerging as a distinct deity,— a malevolent-benevolent god,— with a status approximating to that of those gods,— the Maruts, Rudra, Bṛhaspati and Indra,— out of slices of whom he was fashioning himself. Through the tendency, characteristic of the Ṛg-Vedic age, to compare the gods to animals, this god, anthropomorphic at this stage, was apparently coming to be thought of also as an elephant, in recognition of similarities fancied to subsist between the gods of whom he was made and the animal. This secondary fancy of an animal-god on all fours[1] appears to have again given place,

---

a cogency which we may hardly come across for many another generation.

VIII—1. The probability of this god being represented in the elephants of the seals of the Harappa Culture is being examined by me separately.

in course of time, to the primary fancy of the god in the erect form, in answer to the imperative preference for an anthropomorphic over a theriomorphic god. At this stage, apparently, the god attracted to himself the notions that had long been current about Gaṇas and Yakṣas, two groups of ill-baked divinities which had resemblances to an erect elephant. But, the transformation of the Ṛg-Vedic gods was in inexorable progress. The gods of the *Ṛg-Veda* kept gradually fading out and its godlings were getting debased; this decay must by itself have been enough to pull Vighneśa down to the level to which had fallen the Ṛg-Vedic gods of whom he was composed and even to that of the godlings to whom he bore a resemblance. Perhaps, at this stage, was established an equation which too pulled him low. Based on the plurality of the Maruts, gods who were as malevolent as they were benevolent, and on the plurality of the Vināyakas, a group of Gaṇa demons notorious for their malevolence, this malevolent-benevolent god, Vi-Nāyaka, 'Sans-Superior', was exalted to the captaincy of the demons, the Vināyakas.[2] Yet another factor pulling him down was the conviction which once prevailed that Gaṇas and Yakṣas were deities only to men of the 'middling sort',— those of the Rājasa type. Contrary forces, however, were evidently active at the same time. The assimilation-transformation of the Ṛg-Vedic gods into such unitary gods we know of as Viṣṇu and Śiva, placed, evidently, a premium on this god of plural character,— as the Maruts in origin, and as the Vināyakas by affiliation,— becoming exalted to the unity of an integrated personality. Even at this stage, perhaps, he was deemed Brahman, there being no reason why he should not have been so accepted, at least because each of those gods was already taken for a manifestation of Brahman.

And, the rise of the unitary gods like Viṣṇu and Śiva to a glory and to a grandeur greater than had ever been the lot of any of the component gods of the *Ṛg-Veda* and the application of the idea of the Yakṣa, of great power and great divinity, to the metaphysical Brahman of Ṛg-Vedic and post Ṛg-Vedic thought and belief, must have been processes operating to raise Vighneśa among, and, when predilections grew in vigour, to exalt him over, the gods of the transformation.[3]

2. *Mahā-Bhārata*, 12 (*Śānti-*): 285: 200.
3. *Mahā-Bhārata*, 6 (*Bhīshma-*): 41: 4.

The notions which lie at the roots of cults like the Śākta, the Pāśupata and the Bhairava have given twists to the Gaṇeśa cult, as to other cults, which appear to be foreign to the spirit of the prototype who had sprung from the *Ṛg-Veda* but we may not, on that account, decline to trace those notions back to the Ṛg-Vedic age, for we cannot but admit that they are much older,— as old almost as human nature itself. The pulls to and fro, and up and down, varied apparently in different periods so that, even before we have unambiguous references to him as Gaṇeśa, or under other specific name, he has been both Brahman and godling.

IX

It is fairly clear that Skanda-Kārttikeya-Subrahmaṇya, whom we are accustomed to think of as a late god grown up under auspices other than Vedic, is but the offspring of an assimilation of aspects of Agni, the Kṛttikas, Rudra, Indra and Brahman:[1] it looks probable that Apām-Napāt and Soma also, other Ṛg-Vedic deities, have contributed to the growth of that god.[2] Now, we find that Skanda's elder brother, Gaṇapati, is also Ṛg-Vedic in origin, notwithstanding confident assertions that his nativity is different. The Samskritic affiliations of these gods were plain from the beginning and the Samskritic evidences are fairly early. Such non-Samskritic affiliations as had been suspected were neither clear nor as early as the Samskritic. For an appraisement of the character of these gods and of their evolution there was no need at all, prima facie, for looking for non-Samskritic origins nor for the dragging in of notions of origins and developments in primitive

---

IX—1. See my paper, 'The Gods of Harappa', in *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, (1949), 34 (3-4): 52-68.

2. Skanda grew up in embryo in a golden well, *Mahā-Bhārata*, 3 (*Vana-*) : 224 : 13-4, and he was given suck to by the Kṛttikās. Apām-Napāt is offspring of the waters (RV., 1. 186. 5; 3. 9. 1); he generated himself as an embryo in the waters, of which he is the infant; he is given suck to by the three mothers; he shines amidst the waters; he is youthful and beautiful: (RV., 2. 35. 4, 5, 11, 13). Soma is the embryo of the waters (RV., 9. 97. 41); he is a child newly born and tended by seven sisters as mothers (RV., 9. 86. 36); the waters are his mothers (RV., 9. 61. 4); he is a youth among the waters (RV., 5. 45. 9; 9. 9. 5.); he is Gandharva of the waters (RV., 10. 13. 5).

cultures: it has turned out they have no particle of blood other than the Vedic. Had only the evidence in the earliest stratum of the Samskritic material available now, the *Ṛg-Veda*, been studied with care and imagination, apart from notions imported from Mīmāmsa, Anthropology and Comparative Philology, our god Gajānana would long ago have stood unmasked as the unimpeachably Vedic god we have found him to be.

It is quite clear now that in an investigation of cultural origins and development a hypothesis of an influence on one culture by another is not to be adumbrated unless it is found to be inevitable through a cumulation of evidence. Surface similarities or partial concords are not merely of no value but are even pernicious as false pointers: the similarities or concords must be traceable deeper and should turn out to be indices of either kinship or identity. Alien influences may not even be postulated until it is established that an incentive to development or an incitement to mutation did not, and could not have, come from the parent culture itself. It is of the utmost importance to an understanding of the growth of any culture,— and, especially of Indian culture,— that the red herring of influences from uncharacterisable and unstratifiable cultures, primitive or developed, is no longer allowed to be drawn across the path of investigation which Vighneśvara keeps pointing to with upraised proboscis.

X

Such being the processes through which Gaṇeśa was reached as a formulation, through processes allied to reasoning, we may easily trace the course he has taken in coming down to Vedic man as a precipitation, through human faculties that are not based in the physical senses. The moment we accept the various processes of the formulation of the god, motivated by man's anxieties and ambitions, as correspondences to the processes by which the divine keeps progressively revealing itself, aspect by aspect and from time to time, in ways and in forms which could enter human comprehension, we are able to realise that the precipitation of the divine down to earth, through the human mind, brought about by the impact of nature's phenomena on it, could lead to facets and phases of the divine appearing to man convincingly in numerous forms and shapes and with equally numerous attributes and faculties. Such forms and

shapes of aspects of the divine,— precipitations through the mind of Ṛg-Vedic man by impacts of nature on him in the the Ṛg-Vedic environment,— are the Maruts and Rudra, Indra and Bṛhaspati, as also the Gaṇas and the Yakṣas. Such a form assumed by a phase of the divine,— a manifestation through the mind of man accustomed to the proximity of the elephant,— is a godling in the guise of an elephant. As man grows into the realisation that nature's phenomena are products of an infinite variety of blendings of varied forces, his capacity to comprehend the infinity of the divine improves. The divine gets a chance, then, to reveal itself in blends of various of the primary forms and faculties in response to the comprehension of phenomena being blends of forces. Thus it is that the Ṛg-Vedic mind perceived such a complex as Viṣṇu or Rudra: thus also was it that a blend of the Maruts, Bṛhaspati, Rudra and Indra and the Elephant took shape and rank as Gaṇeśa. Hardly necessary is it to trace the precipitations further or into greater detail.

Where aspects of the divine descend to man's mind in symbols and in forms and shapes and with attributes all of which vary in answer to the impacts of the several phenomena of nature and in response to the several environments in which man grows up, as in the *Ṛg-Veda*, there is little need for man to proceed, deliberately and ingeniously, by way of formulation to create divinities. There is still less need, or scope, for accepting the play, in the *Ṛg-Veda*, or in much of the later Veda, of those psychological processes that are implied in theories like animism and totemism, they being needed only if the forms and shapes of phases of the divine are but formulations. Gaṇeśa, like other manifestations of the divine, can, thus, have no relation to the totem-animals, the village-gods and other godlings which throng the anthropologist's heaven. Gaṇeśa is Brahman in a particular embodiment which is a natural blend of a variety of manifestations.

Thus does Gaṇeśa present himself as formulation or precipitation, degradation or sublimation, ascent or descent, Beast or Brahman.

SUMMARY:

An appreciation of the ways in which man understands and gives form to aspects of the divine comes from a study of the evolution of Gaṇeśa.

Only in the light of Ṛg-Vedic culture can he be understood. Gaṇeśa, elephantine, serpent-wearing son of Śiva, who, in the plenitude of his wisdom, stands resolutely haling in and heaving off obstacles to achievement and denying or granting success, has emerged from aspects of the notions of the phenomena of nature which, in that culture, had taken form as the Maruts (Wafters of Rain and of Obstacles), as Rudra (Father of Gaṇa-sons, the Maruts, and Slayer), as Bṛhaspati (Lord of Gaṇas and of Wisdom) and as Indra (Serpent-Slayer and Lord of the Maruts and, later, Elephant-Lord), and notions of resemblance to Gaṇas and Yakshas in appearance and to the Vināyakas in temperament. Aspects of nature, apprehended initially in human shape, were being bestialized in form into an elephant and humanised into an anthropomorphic god. This was evidently in obedience to a strain of apparent whimsicality in Ṛg-Vedic thought, which is at the basis of what is inaptly called Pantheism. A Plural Divinity arising on the pattern of the Ṛg-Vedic Dual Divinities, Gaṇeśa rose to the supreme status of Brahman, when the spirit of the *Ṛg-Veda* was yet active, but, through the Yaksha association and the elephant form, and perhaps through the fierce devotion of votaries of the Pāśupata, the Śākta and the Bhairava cults, he looks now a fallen scion of good and great stock.

A hypothesis of influence on Vedic culture by another may not be adumbrated as no other culture of that age in contact with it has been shown to have had even parallel notions.

If Gaṇeśa could be deemed by the man of science to be a god who, fabricated by man, out of shapes which he gives to aspects of nature's powers, for serving him for patron or protector, helps him in his despairs and ambitions, he may equally well be deemed by the man of faith to be a precipitation to earth of aspects of the divine, which, taking a shape picturing aspects of nature's powers, dwells with him and vouches him safety and salvation. Formulation and Precipitation, as mutual converses, account with equal appositeness for this God, whether as Beast or as Brahman.

SOBRIQUETS IN SANSKRIT[1]

BY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

The name 'sobriquet' has been adopted here for the subject of this paper, not only because a more appropriate term is not available, but because writers like Thomas[2] have already used it in this same context. A few of these sobriquets, especially those associated with the celebrated poets, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and others, are very well-known; of the less known sobriquets, a few have no doubt been noted by writers[3], but this paper endeavours to present all such sobriquets that can be gathered, from the anthologies mostly which abound in them.

Of Sanskrit works on Alaṅkāra, none has taken any note of such names; but I find that Vinayacandra in his Kaviśikṣā preserved in a Pattan Ms. (Dalal's Catalogue, GOS. 76, pp. 46-50; p. 105 of the Ms.) makes a reference to the similes figuring in these names as wrought purely by the poet's *Prauḍhokti* and mentions five such sobriquets:

कविप्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्नोपमा यथा — घण्टामाघः, छत्रभारविः, दीपिकाकालिदासः, यमुनात्रिविक्रमः, धनपालारघट्ट इत्यादि ।

The sobriquet meant here is either an epithet or a name given to a poet by virtue of a striking simile or fancy conceived by him. To take the best known example, (1) Kālidāsa earned for himself the name *Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa* for one of his most striking comparisons, *viz.*, that of Indumatī moving in the svayamvara-hall to a light moving in the night on the highway.

सञ्चारिणी दीपशिखेव रात्रौ यं यं व्यतीयाय पतिंवरा सा ।
नरेन्द्रमार्गाट्ट इव प्रपेदे विवर्णभावं स स भूमिपालः ॥

Raghuvaṁśa VI. 67.

---

1. Based on an address delivered by the writer at the Sanskrit Association of the Vivekananda College, Madras.

2. See his Introduction to the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, p. 67.

3. See for instance, Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 404-406.

As Indumati approaches each king, his face brightens up with the hope of being the fortunate object of her choice, but as the moves on to the next, is thrown into gloom; the effect here is brought out powerfully by the simile of the light moving in the night on the highway, lighting up the building in front of which it appears for the nonce and throwing the same into darkness the moment it passes on. These sobriquets afford us a glimpse into some of the vogues in the literary circles of old, and show how keenly the Sahṛdayas enjoyed, repeated and remembered noteworthy fancies of the poet, and gave expression to their appreciation of these flourishes of the powerful imagination of the poets; for it is these Sahṛdayas that gave the poets these names for the fancies which immortalised them in the literary annals.

Among sobriquets, there are two classes: one like the above, Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa, in which the author's real name is also preserved, and another, more numerous, in which we know poets only by these fancy-names. That these latter are numerous and occur only in anthologies give rise to a presumption that the authors of anthologies or Sahṛdayas who had by heart these striking verses did not really know their authors, and for purposes of record devised these fancy-names. This surmise gains some strength from the exactly corresponding phenomenon seen in the ancient Saṅgam collections of Tamil poetry where we find, besides a few poets known by their proper names bearing an additional sobriquet (Ṣiṟappuppeyar), a large number of authors of verses noted down by the compilers only by their sobriquets.[1]

---

1. My attention was drawn to this by Messrs S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and E. K. Natesa Sarma. See for *e.g.*, Kuruntokai, Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer's edn., 1937, pp. 104-7, where the editor gives an account of such names: Gārgya, specialist in singing of Neydal Tiṇai, is called Neydal Kārkyar; similarly Peruṅkaḍuṅko who sang of Pālai being known as Pālai Peruṅkaḍuṅko; Kākkaip-pāḍiniyār Naccellaiyār for having sung of a crow. These have parallels in Carnatic music where musicians celebrated for their renderings of particular Rāgas or aspects of music earned epithets like Toḍi Sītārāmayya, Sallaghāli Krishna Iyer, Ghanam Seenaiyya and Pallavi Gopala Iyer. Of Saṅgam Tamil sobriquets in which we know not the real names of the authors, may be cited Neḍuveṇṇilavinār, the poet who said 'the endless bright moonlight', Kuppaikkoḻiyār, Kaṅgul-vellattār and so on.

The expression which gives the name is sometimes a simile or a fancy and sometimes a striking turn of expression or a charming or effective word. (2) *Bhavabhūti*, it is well-known, is not the poet's real name, and it has been suggested that the poet got the name because of that expression in a prayer verse of his, which is given differently by different authors:

(a) साम्बा पुनातु भवभूतिपवित्रमूर्तिः ।

(b) गिरिजायाः स्तनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसितानानौ ।
तपस्वी कां गतोऽवस्थामिति स्मेराननाविव ॥

Similarly the old poet who has given us the short yamaka-poem of twenty verses on love in separation in the rainy season is known as (3) *Ghaṭakarpara* because he swore in a verse at the end of his poem that, were any one to excel him, he would gladly carry for him water in a potsherd.

जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण
तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥

(4) The name *Utprekṣāvallabha* given to the author of Bhikṣāṭanakāvya (KM, Gucchaka 12) is of a different class, the poet here taking his name after the figure he was most fond of. At the end of his Sundarīśataka (KM, Gucchaka 9, p. 108) the poet himself, whose real name is Gokula, informs us about the origin of his sobriquet Utprekṣāvallabha:

भारत्यैव क्रियते स्तोत्रैः सन्तुष्टया द्विजद्वारा ।
श्रीगोकुलस्य सुकवेरुत्प्रेक्षावल्लभेत्यभिधा ॥

Occasionally it is also a theme which has been well-handled by the poet that bestows the sobriquet on him, *e.g.*, Priyāviraha.

The few more widely known sobriquets may first be dealt with before we take up the many rare ones in the anthologies:

(5) Bhāravi says in Kirāta., V. 39, that when the breeze blows up the golden pollen from the lotus and it hangs above in a ring, it produces the picture of a golden parasol. This fancy gave him the sobriquet *Chatra-Bhāravi*:

उत्फुल्लस्थलनलिनीवनादमुष्मादुद्धूतः सरसिजसम्भवः परागः ।
वात्याभिर्वियति विवर्तितः समन्तादाधत्ते कनकमयातपत्रलक्ष्मीम् ॥

(6) The author of the Śiśupālavadha earned the name *Ghaṇṭā-Māgha* on the basis of S. V. IV. 20, in which he

described the Raivataka mountain with the rising sun and the setting moon on either side of it appearing to hang by the long ropes of their rays, as an elephant with two bells hanging on either side of it.

उदयति विततोर्ध्वरश्मिरज्जावहिमरुचौ हिमधाम्नि याति चास्तम् ।
वहति गिरिरयं विलम्बिघण्टाद्वयपरिवारितवारणेन्द्रलीलाम् ॥

(7) *Tāla-Ratnākara* is the name given to the author of the Haravijayakāvya (KM 22). In XIX. 5, Rājānaka Ratnākara says in his description of the evening that, as the circular discs of the setting sun and the rising moon were on the tops of the mountains of the west and the east, the damsel of the skies appears to have taken in her hand the two discs of the cymbals for keeping the *rhythm* (*Tāla*) for Siva's twilight dance.

अस्तावलम्बिरविबिम्बतयोदयाद्रि-
चूडोन्मिषत्सकलचन्द्रतया च सायम् ।
सन्ध्याप्रनृत्तहरवाद्यगृहीतकांस्य-
तालद्वयेन समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मीः ॥

(8) Trivikrama, in his Nalacampū VI. 1, describes the evening sky, bright at the east with moonrise and dark at the west with sunset, as looking like the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā:

उदयगिरिगतायां प्राक्प्रभापाण्डुताया-
मनुसरति निशीथे शृङ्गमस्ताचलस्य ।
जयति किमपि तेजः साम्प्रतं व्योममध्ये
सलिलमिव विभिन्नं जाह्नवं यामुनं च ॥

The verse gave him the name *Yamunā-Trivikrama.* While actually he described the sky as having the mingling of both the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, the reason why the Yamunā alone was taken as his sobriquet is that whereas the Ganges as Ākāśagaṅgā was well-known in the higher regions, it was the Yamunā that the poet for the first time ascribed to those regions. The commentator, Caṇḍapāla, makes a further cāṭu on the poet and this sobriquet of his by saying that while the ancient Trivikrama (avatāra of Viṣṇu) created with his pada (foot) only a Gaṅgā in the heavens, this new Trivikrama (the poet) created with his pada (expression) the Yamunā too:

प्राच्याद्विष्णुपदीहेतोः अपूर्वोऽयं त्रिविक्रमः ।
निर्ममे विमलं व्योम्नि यत्पदं यमुनामपि ॥

(9) *Araghaṭṭa-Dhanapāla.* In the list of sobriquets mentioned in Vinayacandra's Kaviśikṣā quoted above, we find a Dhanapāla with the sobriquet Araghaṭṭa. This is evidently the author of the prose romance Tilakamañjarī, and in the stories told of him and King Bhoja in Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, we have a cāṭu on the king's prowess and the suffering of the ladies of the enemies in which the poet describes these ladies as drawing out of the deep well of their cares with the wheel of their grief the water of tears which poured over and collected in the pitchers of their breasts. It is this verse and the idea of the *wheel* of sorrow that gave the poet the sobriquet Araghaṭṭa.

चिन्तागम्भीरकूपादनवरचलद्भूरिशोकारघट्ट-
व्याकृष्टं निःश्वसन्त्यः पृथुनयनघटीयन्त्रमुक्ताश्रुधारम् ।
नासावंशप्रणालीविषमपथपतद्बाष्पपानीयमेता
देव ! त्वद्वैरिनार्यः स्तनकलशयुगेनाभिरामं वहन्ति ॥

See p. 6. Skt. Intro. to *Tilakamañjarī*, KM. 85; *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Singhi Jaina Series No. 1, p. 40.

(10) Amaracandra, author of the Bālabhārata (KM 45) is known as *Veṇīkṛpāṇa*.

दधिमथनविलोलल्लोलदृग्वेणिदम्भा-
दयमदयमनङ्गो विश्वविश्वैकजेता ।
भवपरिभवकोपत्यक्तबाणः कृपाण-
श्रममिव दिवसादौ व्यक्तशक्तिर्व्यनक्ति ॥

I. xi. 6.

In a very beautiful picture of the damsels churning curd at dawn, Amaracandra says that as their bodies sway in the act of churning, and their long plaits of hair swing this side and that, it appears as if the lord of love, having given up his useless arrows after the discomfiture suffered at Śiva's hands, has taken up the *sword* of the long *plaited hair* of these women as his weapon and is practising morning exercises with it.

Amaracandra was evidently taken up with his own fancy of 'Veṇī-Kṛpāṇa' as we find him repeating it in the same Kāvya in I. iii. 63:

नवकीर्तिदत्तसततामृतप्लवः परिछिन्नदानववितानविप्लवः ।
अधुनापि केन कुसुमैर्न पूज्यते यदसिर्धृतः शिरसि वेणिमूर्तिभिः[1] ॥

(11) Maṅkha, author Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, works a rather mediocre idea on the karṇikāra flower which is well-known for its bright colour and utter lack of fragrance, an idea found in the Kumārasambhava (III. 28). He makes the eye and nose, the two organs, quarrel over the defect and merit of the tree.

विवृण्वता सौरभरोरदोषं बन्दिव्रतं वर्णगुणैः स्पृशन्त्याः ।
विकस्वरे कस्य न कर्णिकारे घ्राणेन दृष्टेर्ववृधे विवादः ॥
VI. 13.

Jonarāja, the commentator, says that the poet came to be called *Karṇikāra-Maṅkha* on account of this verse:

कर्णिकारस्य वर्णसौभाग्यं सौगन्ध्याभावश्च कविना युक्त्या प्रतिपादित इति **कर्णिकारमङ्ख** इति प्रसिद्धिः ; and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (1660) cites this verse and confirms the sobriquet.

The sobriquets known from the anthologies may be conveniently dealt with in alphabetical order. It may be mentioned that while many of the verses and 'effects' on which they are based are indeed very striking, there are a few which are quite tame.

(12) *Akālajalada.* Rājaśekhara tells us that his great-grandfather was known as Akālajalada, and that a certain Kādambarīrāma made easy reputation as a playwright by using Akālajalada's verses. See the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, pp. 6 *b*-7*a*. The poet was famous for his description of a sudden, heavy downpour of rain and his verse on the unexpected cloud gave him the name Akālajalada. Śārṅgadhara-paddhati (Śp.) 777:

---

1. See H. R. Kapadia, Sanskrit Intro. to the poet's Pādmananda Kāvya, GOS. 58, pp. 17-18, where the editor quotes also the evidence from the Hammīra mahākāvya on this 'biruda' of the poet:

वाणीनामधिदेवता स्वयमसौ ख्याता कुमारी ततः
प्रायो ब्रह्मवतां स्फुरन्ति सरसा वाचां विलासा ध्रुवम् ।
कुक्कोकः सुकृती जितेन्द्रियचयो हर्षस्स वात्स्यायनो
ब्रह्मज्ञप्रवरो महाव्रतधरो वेणीकृपाणोऽमरः ॥

भेकैः कोटरशायिभिर्मृतमिव क्ष्मान्तर्गतं कच्छपैः
पाठीनैः पृथुपङ्कपीठलुठनाद्यस्मिन्मुहुर्मूर्च्छितम् ।
तस्मिञ्छुष्कसरस्यकालजलदेनागत्य तच्चेष्टितं
यत्राकण्ठनिमग्नवन्यकरिणां यूथैः पयः पीयते ॥

It may be noted that the poet's description of rains was so celebrated that Somadeva employs the name Akālajalada for one of the minstrels singing of the advent of rains in his Yaśastilakacampū (KM. 70, Pt. I, pp. 543-48). The verse lends itself to be taken as an Anyāpadeśa on a patron and the sudden manifestation on his part of munificence, and it is in such a context that the Bhojaprabandha uses it (śl. 201).

(13) *Aparādhasundara* is the name of an anonymous poet based on an appealing devotional verse of his in which he gives beautiful expression to the double sin of his being without obeisance to Śiva in the previous birth as well in the future one; for had be bowed to Śiva in the past, he would not have taken the present birth, and were he to bow now, he would have no further births and consequently no more chance to pay respects to Śiva.

वपुःप्रादुर्भावादनुमितमिदं जन्मनि पुरा
पुरारे न प्रायः क्वचिदपि भवन्तं प्रणतवान् ।
नमन्मुक्तः सम्प्रत्यहमतनुरग्रेऽप्यनतिमान्
महेश क्षन्तव्यं तदिदमपराधद्वयमपि ॥

Sūktimuktāvalī (Smv.) p. 460.

(14) *Kapolakavi.* This poet gets this name for a fancy of his about the cheeks of a damsel. The poet says that the creator splits the moon in two parts and makes them into the cheeks of the lady, and it is the drops of ambrosia trickling from the just-split halves of the moon that form her teeth.

द्विधा विधाय शीतांशुं कपोलौ कृतवान्विधिः ।
तन्व्यास्तद्रसनिष्यन्दबिन्दवो रदनावली ॥

Smv. p. 181; Śp. 3315.

(15) *Karṇotpala.* The blue lily adorning the lady's ear came to her rescue when at night, the lover began playing with her and she had to fling that flower at the lamp to put it out and prevent it from exposing her modesty. The idea of thus putting out the light is common (*e.g.* Meghasandeśa II. 4),

but the employment here by the poet of the flower on the ear for putting out the light gives him the sobriquet Karṇotpala.

अङ्गाकृष्टदुकूलया सरभसं गूढौ भुजाभ्यां स्तना-
वाकृष्टे जघनांशुके कृतमतः संसक्तमूरुद्वयम् ।
नाभीमूलनिबद्धचक्षुषि तया व्रीडानताङ्ग्या प्रिये
दीपः फूत्कुतिवातवेपितशिखः कर्णोत्पलेनाहतः ॥

Smv. p. 275; *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (Skm.) p. 152.

(16) *Kūrma-Bārhata.* Bārhata is probably the poet's personal name, and the sobriquet Kūrma attached to it is based on a very picturesque imaginative description by him of the appearance of Śiva consequent on the sudden exhibition by Him of His forceful Tāṇḍava. The all-powerful Lord, in His fervour, did not pay a moment's thought to the sad fact that the universe might not stand the impact of his dance; and as He flung and swayed His limbs, they struck, pierced and protruded out of the confines of the Brahmāṇḍa; the head came out on top, the feet below and the hands at the sides, and to one who would look on from the outside only the mobile head, hands and feet, the image which would occur to his mind was that of a tortoise in water with the movements of its head and feet alone discernible.

संरम्भादविभावितत्रिभुवनायासस्य कामद्विषो
नृत्तारम्भविजृम्भितैरवयवैर्ब्रह्माण्डमुद्भिन्दतः ।
निर्यन्मौलि विनिर्गताग्रचरणं प्रोल्लासिदोःपल्लवं
पायाद्वो बहिरम्भसः प्रविचलत्कूर्मायमाणं वपुः ॥

Smv. pp. 21-22.

(17) *Krīḍācandra.* A toy-moon created by Pārvatī during her love-sports with Śiva gives the poet this sobriquet. The sickle half-moon on Śiva's head slipped down in the sport and the broken half of a bangle of hers was also lying on the ground. Pārvatī picked up the two arcs, completed a full disc, and filled up the body of that toy-moon with the lustre of the shining teeth on her smiling face.

च्युतामिन्दोर्लेखां रतिकलहभग्नं च वलयं
द्वयं चक्रीकृत्य प्रहसितमुखी शैलतनया ।
अवोचद्यं पश्येत्यवतु स शिवः सा च गिरिजा
स च क्रीडाचन्द्रो दशनकिरणापूरिततनुः ॥

Śp. 96. See also Bhojaprabandha, śl. 115.

(24) *Dagdhamaraṇa,* The 'accursed death', if it should not happen when one is separated from his beloved, where then would it find for itself an appropriate occasion?

यदि प्रियावियोगेऽपि रुद्यते दीनदीनकम् ।
तदिदं दग्धमरणमुपयोगं क यास्यति ॥

Sbhv. 1255; Śp. 3449.

(25) *Dorlatikā-Darśanīya.* From Sbhv. 1171 and 2504-5, we learn of the poet named Darśanīya, son of Prakāśavarṣa. Verse 1172 in the same anthology and the expression 'creeper-like arms' used therein conferred on him the sobriquet Dorlatikā-Darśanīya.

कस्माद्दोर्लतिके निधाय न चिरं द्वारोपरोधः कृतो
लग्ना वा किमु न स्थितापि रुदती रुद्धोत्तरीयांशुका ।
कालेऽस्मिन्कुसुमाकरे द्विगुणितप्रेम्णि प्रिये रागिणां
गच्छन्नग्रत एव मूढहृदये मुक्तस्त्वया वल्लभः ॥

Sbhv. 1172.

(26) *Nidrādaridra.* The sudden loss of sleep and consequent deprival of the pleasure of a dream-vision of the beloved gives a poet the name Nidrādaridra.

जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वप्नेऽद्य दृष्टा मया
मा मा संस्पृश पाणिनेति रुदती गन्तुं प्रवृत्ता ततः ।
नो यावत्परिरभ्य चाटुशतकैराश्वासयामि क्षणं
भ्रातस्तावदहं शठेन विधिना निद्रादरिद्रीकृतः ॥

Smv. p. 152; Śp. 3454.

(27) *Niśā-Nārāyaṇa.* The well-known author of the play Veṇīsaṁhāra figures in the anthologies as the author of a fine verse describing the love-sport of Lord Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī. The verse depicts the Lord as unwilling in his infatuation of the captivating charms of Lakṣmī to leave his serpent-couch; it is as if the *night* had not yet dawned for Him. The idea has therefore bestowed on Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa the sobriquet Niśā-Nārāyaṇa.

उत्तिष्ठन्त्या रतान्ते भरमुरगपतौ पाणिनैकेन कृत्वा
धृत्वा चान्येन वासो विगलितकबरीभारमंसे वहन्त्या ।
भूयस्तत्कालकान्तिद्विगुणितसुरतप्रीतिना शौरिणा वः
शय्यामालिङ्ग्य नीतं वपुरलसलसद्बाहु लक्ष्म्याः पुनातु ॥

Śp. 135

(28) *Netratribhāga-Brahmayaśasvin.* The verse given below, Vrīḍāyogāt etc., is a well-known one quoted in old Alaṅkāra works like the Dhvanyāloka (Ch. III, p. 132, N. S. Press edn.) for the high suggestiveness of a part of a word like the 'tribhāga' found at its end. The picture of that little glance that the lady stole with the end of the eye, weighed down by her sense of bashfulness in the midst of the elders the metrical appropriateness of the short syllables, 'cakita-hariṇī' comparing the quick, furtive glance that she took to that of the timid deer, and above all the expression 'netratribhāga' for the fraction of her eye that she cast on her lover, all make the verse an exquisite piece of composition. No wonder the author gained the significant sobriquet of Netratribhāga for that expression in the verse.

व्रीडायोगान्नतवदनया सन्निधाने गुरूणां
बद्धोत्कम्पं स्तनकलशयोर्मन्युमन्तर्निगूह्य ।
तिष्ठेत्युक्तं किमिव न तया यत्समुत्सृज्य बाष्पं
मय्यासक्तश्चकितहरिणीहारिनेत्रत्रिभागः ॥

Sp. 3464.

If this Brahmayaśasvin is the same as the Brahma-yaśas-svāmin mentioned in the Abhinavabhāratī, we have in this poet the author of one of our excellent Prakāraṇas, the Puṣpa-dūṣitaka, unfortunately not yet recovered.

(29) *Pikanikara.* In the Skm. is found a verse which works a fancy on the cuckoos' notes, and the unknown author of this verse is noted by the name 'Pikanikara', meaning 'bevy of cuckoos'.

वसन्ताग्नौ मग्ना चिरविरहरुग्णा सहचरी
यदि प्राणान्मुञ्चेत्तदिह वधभागी भवतु कः ।
वयो वा स्नेहो वा कुसुमसमयो वेति विमृशं-
स्तुहीति प्रव्यक्तं पिकनिकरझंकारमशृणोत् ॥

Skm. p. 125.

(30) *Punaruktapada.* While most of the verses giving rise to these sobriquets are on love-themes, and a few of them are devotional, here is one of a gnomic character. The poet in driving home the truth that the utterances of rogues are full of contradictions says that, as if afraid of committing the literary flaw of *tautology* by repetition of the same consistent

(37) *Rudatī-Brāhmaṇa* or *Rudatī-Paṇḍita*. The portraiture of lady in tears (rudatī) standing at the doorway looking all day along the route of her beloved confers on this author this name.

विश्रान्तो दिवसस्तटीमयमटत्यस्ताचलस्यांशुमान्
सम्प्रत्यङ्कुरितान्धकारपटलैर्लम्बालका द्यौरभूत् ।
एह्यन्तर्विश वेश्मनश्शशिमुखि ! द्वारस्थलीतोरण-
स्तम्भालम्बितबाहुवल्लि ! रुदती किं त्वं पथः पश्यसि ॥

Smv. p. 140; Śp. 3420.

(38) *Vāgvīṇa*. The conceiving of a lady's voice as a stringless lute, a-tantrī vāg vīṇā, is responsible for this sobriquet.

अतन्त्री वाग्वीणा स्तनयुगलमग्रीवकलशा-
वनब्जं दृङ्नीलोत्पलदलमपत्रोरुकदली ।
अकाण्डा दोर्वल्ली वदनमकलङ्कः शशधर-
स्तदस्यास्तारुण्यं भुवनविपरीतं घटयति ॥

Skm. p. 69.

(39) *Sītkāra-ratna*. The poet derives this sobriquet by his eulogy on the all-glorious sītkāra uttered by the lady who had been kissed powerfully.

समादिष्टं शिष्टैः परममिह यन्निर्वृतिपदं
पुनर्दग्धोऽप्याशु प्रभवति यतो मन्मथतरुः ।
श्रुते यस्मिन् कामी भवति कृतकृत्यो रतिमुखं
स सीत्कारः पायादमृतविजयी सुन्दरदृशाम् ॥

Smv. p. 277.

On the adjunct 'ratna' in the name, see above the suggestion under the sobriquet Chamacchamīkā-ratna.

(40) *Sūcī-Gobhaṭa*. As in the case of the sobriquet Punaruktapada, we have here a poet whose telling didactic verses have made him famous for the illustration of *needle* employed by him for driving home the characteristics of good and bad men.

सूचीदण्ड इवासौ कुपितस्सुजनो मुखे परं तीक्ष्णः ।
छिद्रपिधानैकपरः प्रगुणः पश्चात्परं भवति ॥

अनुकुरुतः खलसुजनावग्रिमपाश्चात्यभागयोस्सूच्याः ।
एकः कुरुते छिद्रं गुणवानन्यश्च पिदधाति ॥

Smv. p. 53.

A few of the other effective didactic Āryās of this poet, whose proper name is Gobhaṭa, may also be found in the Smv.

(41) *Vakṣas-sthalācārya* is the sobriquet of Ācārya Dīkṣita, grandfather of the famous Appayya Dīkṣita. It is said that while having darśana at the Varadarāja shrine at Kāñcī along with his patron King Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar present there with his queen, Ācārya Dīkṣita uttered this cāṭu on the beauty of the queen:

काञ्चित्काञ्चनगौराङ्गीं वीक्ष्य साक्षादिव श्रियम् ।
वरदः संशयापन्नो वक्षःस्थलमवैक्षत ॥

Appayya Dīkṣita himself quotes the above verse as illustration of Sandeha-dhvani under Sandehālaṅkāra in his Citramīmāṁsā (p. 63, N. S. Press edn.) and refers to its author as his own 'Kula-kūṭastha' Vakṣas-sthalācārya and the occasion of the verse as the 'Varadarāja-vasantotsava'; we do not know if 'Varadarāja-vasantotsava' means a work of that name or simply the occasion of the Spring Festival in Varadarāja's temple when this verse was uttered.

(42) *Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita* was the father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita and an elder contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita. He was patronised by the Vijayanagar subordinate Śūrappa Nāyak of Gingi (*c.* 1465-1550). Once, at the instance of the king, this prolific writer described the twilight-sky in the imagery of a battlefield, in which the mountains of east and west were the combatants, the ruddy clouds cannons from which issued bullets in the form of stars, and the round glowing discs of the setting sun and rising moon, the *gem-set* protective *shields* held by the two combatants.

सन्ध्यासन्धुक्षिताम्भोधरनलिकगणादुद्गतान् सीसखण्डान्
ताराकारान् निरोद्धुं शशिरविकपटाद्बिभ्रतो रत्नखेटौ ।
अन्योन्यं युध्यमानावुदयचरमभूभृत्प्रवीराविति द्राग्
उक्त्या ख्यातापराख्यः क्षितिपतिवचसा रत्नखेटाध्वरीति ॥

See Adyar Library edn., Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, p. 2, verse 4, in the commentary of Bālayajñavedeśvara, a scion of the same line.

It is the conceiving of the sun and moon as bejewelled shields that gave this poet the sobriquet of Ratnakheṭa.

(43) Of the poetesses, Jaghanacapalā seems to have been a name given after her verse:

दुर्दिवसे घनतिमिरे दुःसञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्युर्विदेशगमने परमसुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

Padyaracanā p. 52.

(44) And the name Vikaṭanitambā too is, in all likelihood, a similar sobriquet.

There are some more names in the anthologies which are clearly sobriquets, but the exact verses which gave their authors these sobriquets are not recorded in them.

(45) *Asthibhaṅga* Sbhv. 1139
(46) *Uñcchavṛtti* Do. 1722
(47) *Jalacandra* Skm. pp. 8-9
(48) *Tilacandra* Do. Intro. p. 58
(49) *Bherībhāṅkāra*. Many verses of his in Smv. and Śp.
(50) *Manovinoda* Skm. pp. 83, 178, 179; Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, Intro. pp. 66-67.
(51) *Laḍahacandra* Skm. Intro. pp. 104-5
(52) *Līlācandra* Sbhv. 1586
(53) *Vākkūṭa* Skm. Intro. p. 112.

There are three names in the anthologies which are after the works of their authors. Thomas suggests (Kvs. Intro. 110) that the name *Śabdārṇava* (54) is a sobriquet based on Vācaspati's work of that name. *Viṭavṛtta* (55) found in Sbhv. 10 is after the work called Viṭavṛtta which is sometimes ascribed to Bhartṛhari.[1] *Kavidarpaṇa* Raghu or Rāghava (Śp. 3734; Smv. p. 289), found simply as *Kavidarpaṇa* in Smv. p. 459, is evidently of the same class.

Postscript: Dorlatikā-Darśanīya, sobriquet No. 25 above: Sbhv. 1172 is found with a different opening word in Śp. (3419) where the author is noted as Dorlatikā-Bhīma. Sbhv. 2504-5 mention Prakāśavarṣa as the father of Darśanīya.

1. *See* Kosambi, Śatakatrayādi-Subhāṣitasaṅgraha, Singhi Jain Series 23, p. 206, text of Viṭavṛtta, where the Sbhv. 10 is the opening verse.

ŚAKTISM AND TANTRAS*

BY

VIDYAVARIDHI DR. SHIV NATH SHARMA, SHASTRI, ACHARYA

(Formerly of the Research Department, Srinagar)

उद्यत्सूर्यसहस्रभास्वरतनुः सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मा परा
विद्युत्पुञ्जनिभेन्दुकोटिसदृशी धामत्रयाध्यासिनी ।
तत्तेजस्त्रितयात्मकैकमनुभिर्वाक्कामशक्त्याख्ययुक्-
कूटैस्त्र्यब्धिशरर्तुभिः परिणता नित्यात्मिका पातु नः ॥

[That Parā—subtler than the subtlest, (finer than the finest, more excellent than the most excellent), whose transcendental and metaphysical—impersonal and personal bodies—shine with the luminosity of thousands of rising suns (of infinite luminosity), whose second aspect flashes with collective flashes of lightning (neither white not red), whose third aspect shoots forth quiescent and charming moonlight of hundred millions of moons, who joyously resides in three holy places, and whose continuous expression (reflection) of light or language is the code of VĀK, KĀMA, and ŚAKTI-KŪṬAS expressed in 3, 4, 5 or 6, and the primordial womb, grand-cause of all the causal series and their resultants, and who is eternal by nature, may She protect us.]

Reviewing the expositions of the revered sages and the ancient and modern philosophical, metaphysical and scientific achievements, we are in a position to say that the creation, preservation and destruction of whatever is manifested or non-manifested, depends on the manner in which the initiative ideating-motive of the cosmic plan subscribes to the formation and rise of the immanent cause.

The initiative motive of the supreme or the highest being has been variously interpreted: एकोऽहं बहु स्याम्, आत्मलीला, चितिः स्वतन्त्रा, विश्वसिद्धिः, and according to their respective hypotheses, the immanent cause is named: शब्दब्रह्म, अनाहत, अकृतनाद, आन्तरस्फोट, परा, प्राण, प्रणव, महाकुण्डलिनी etc.;

---

* Paper presented to the Religion and Philosophy Section of the XVth All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949.

Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, expounding the cosmic evolutionary theory, attribute the authorship of the universe to the independent Īśvara, commanding eight principal characteristics नित्यज्ञान, नित्यइच्छा etc.; Sāṅkhya advocates the positive potency played by Karma, at the cost of Īśvara; Yoga, again, establishes the inevitable active hand of Īśvara, uncontaminated by five kleśas and their resultants; Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā believes in the eternal cycle of the manifested universe due to Veda and Karma; and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā preaches the upper hand of Īśvara qualified by Māyā—मायोपाधि ईश्वर. Śakti cult, either monistic or dualistic, propounds the cosmic theory becoming effective after the equilibrated condition of Śiva-Śakti is disturbed and the disturbance inheres in the very act of executing the mutually agreed conditions of the contract—one to act as the positive substratum and the other to paint the negative pictures on the background of the positive, negativating the negation in serial order with grosser and grosser paints, till the cosmic evolution is accomplished.

From the above evolutionary theories, whatever might be the transcendental or metaphysical position and estimation of highest author of the universe, it transpires that one problem is solved, viz. that the initiative motive is essential to inaugurate the manifestation of the non-manifested. This transcendental initiative motive must have been extraordinarily powerful, surpassing imagination, and includes or inherits or is pregnant with all the needed materials, so as to construct the unsurpassable monument of the universe.

The initial motive is in itself a composite of extraordinary metaphysical motions, and as such, is believed to be uncaused by any power inferior to the first initiator: The ŚABDA BRAHMAN—Great Vibratory Motion, PRĀṆA ŚAKTI—the very essence of all the vibrating bodies—that vitalises Prāṇi, ANTARASPHOṬA—आन्तरस्फोट—the throbbing of which pulsates the innermost nerve of life, ANĀHATA—अनाहत—pulsates and circulates everywhere, uncaused by any material means and remains always as AKṚTANĀDA—अकृतनाद—difficult to be manufactured by any hand. In short, we all, sentient and insentient, whatever may be the degree of negation, positively exist and live as such, due to the vital inspiration of this—परा, महाकुण्डलिनी or शब्दब्रह्म, instilled

in us. We are part and parcel of that. We are the factors of that grand fact, but as Paśu, tied to and bewitched with the negative scathes—Kañcuka, deriving possible pleasures from Kañcukas and deprived of the blessings of Śiva.

The above analogy that nothing exists apart from that Śabda Brahman or Mahā Kuṇḍalinī is emphasized in a different light by the modern scientists. The modern astronomers after explaining the perpetual youth of the universe say: "We recognise no beginning and acknowledge no end of the universe." "We can admit of no exhaustion of energy leading to a dead universe." The scientists say: "We can conceive of no space which is not occupied by matter in one form or the other of its two forms." "Mind in the form of desires and inclinations exists not only throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms but likewise in a so-called dead matter. Even the molecules, atoms and corpuscles have a kind of sensation and will." James Jeans says: "The universe is a thought in the mind of God." So it means that the initiative ideation through the exercise of the immanent cause pervades all over the universe. This spread of Śakti is the main theme of Śakti Cult.

The main cult of Sāktism would be more clear when we analyse the ultimate attainments of different systems of philosophies. The ultimate achievement of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika is to shatter the fetters of sixteen or seven painful substances. The emancipation of Sāṅkhya means the freedom from आध्यात्मिक, आधिभौतिक, आधिदैविक ताप, oppression. The salvation of Yoga means to get release from five kleśas and their resultants. The mokṣa of Pūrvamīmāṁsā is the attainment of heaven free from dual throngs. The Mokṣa of Uttaramīmāṁsā is to do away with the infatuation of nescience and get established in ब्रह्म—Brahman-Ideation.

The world, as it exists, is believed by various schools of philosophies to be the great source of troubles and miseries, and hence, a chance to labour for its opposite. At this critical point the Śākta Cult seeks departure and emphasises its importance. The creation is meant for enjoyment and emancipation–भुक्तिः and मुक्तिः. Best use should be made of both the aspects. In agreement with the scriptural injunctions, while converting the best available sources of the universe, as means of happiness, into happiness, one should come out

successfully through the ordeals like a hero and attain the highest transcendental status.

The close observance of scriptural prescriptions is essential to avoid misuse of the powers got during austerities. Because, "whatever liberates our intelligence, without at the same time giving us self-control, is fatal"—*Goethe*; "Self-reverence, Self-knowledge, Self-control—these three alone lead life to sovereign power"—*Tennyson*. It means that with physical and mental control, we can love God with all the mind, with all the heart and with all the soul.

The Indian system of Yogic and Tantric culture emphasizes the education of the physical and mental control, through various exercises, because the body behaves automatically and reacts mechanically to external and internal influences, in accordance with the laws of Nature; in higher spheres, the mind becomes a voluminous source of power and strength with mysterious and uncommon capacity, which can draw from itself more than it is believed to contain, yield more than it receives, and give more than it has. And really many ancient sages were stalwart spiritualists, and at the same time commanding mysterious powers.

मनुश्चन्द्रः कुबेरश्च लोपामुद्रा च कामराट् ।
अगस्त्यनन्दिसूर्याश्च विष्णुस्कन्दशिवास्तथा ॥
दुर्वासाश्च महादेव्या द्वादशोपासकाः स्मृताः ।
शक्रश्च चोन्मनी चैव तथा च वरुणस्ततः ॥
धर्मराजोऽनलो नागराजो वायुर्बुधस्तथा ।
ईशानश्च रतिश्चैव तथा नारायणोऽपि च ॥
ब्रह्मा जीवो महादेव्यास्त्रयोदश ह्युपासकाः ।

इत्यादि ॥ (श्रीविद्यार्णवतन्त्र ६ श्वास पृ. १४०)

These adored the Śakti cult. Again, the author of Ajātavāda, Maharṣi Vasiṣṭha, worshipped Tārā. We learn that out of the fourteen disciples of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, nine were householders and followed the Śakti cult. The famous and esteemed authors of Śāradātilaka and Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra—Śrī Lakṣmaṇācārya and Śrī Vidyāraṇya were the advocates of the Śakti cult and at the same time belonged to the line of the advocates of the Vedānta philosophy. Even Śrī-Yantra worship is

in vogue in Pīṭhas established by the revered Śaṅkarācārya. It means that the Śakti worship was once familiar to all.

The outstanding feature of the Śakti cult as bestowing both Bhukti and Mukti calls for some remarks: How are both possible? Well, the answer to this question lies in the answer to the question, "Who could be the best spiritual aspirant?" The greatest Nārada, desirous of spiritual knowledge, in a query to revered Sanatkumāra produces his academical qualifications:

स होवाच ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहास-पुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यां (छा. उ. अ. ७.)

All these sciences and arts are:

अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गि-रस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि अस्यैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि । (बृ. उ. २. ४. १०.)

So, a Tāntric is expected to gain knowledge of all the above sciences during his various practices prior to the realisation of the highest spiritual Divinity:—

छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।
शिक्षा घ्राणं महेशानि हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ कथ्यते ॥
ज्योतिषं देवि तन्नेत्रं निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते ।
अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ॥
धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ।
आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गन्धर्वश्चेति तत्त्रयम् ॥
अर्थशास्त्रसमायुक्ता विद्याष्टादशधा स्मृता ॥

The realisation of the eternal Veda-Puruṣa consists of the knowledge of metres, grammar, euphony, phonetics, implications of religious rites, astronomy, astrology, glossary and prosody, ritual and theological philosophies, logic, social and moral codes, cosmogony, genealogy of gods and heroes, patriarchs, history of mankind, physiology, positive science of health and medicines, the art of war, singing

and crafts, economics, administration, Vedas, and last of all comes the monistic ideation of the identification with the highest.

A Tantric devotee is aware that a sincere devotee has necessarily to gain knowledge of the above-mentioned sciences during his practices leading to higher and higher stages, because the universe is the positive expression and manifestation of the Supreme Śakti.

कामो योनिः कमला वज्रपाणि-
गुर्हा हसा मातरिश्वाभ्रमिन्द्रः ।
पुनर्गुहा सकला मायया च
पुरूच्येषा विश्वमातादिविद्या ॥
इमां विज्ञाय सुधया मदन्ति
परिस्रुता तर्पयन्तः स्वपीठम् ।
नाकस्य पृष्ठे महतो वसन्ति
परं धाम त्रैपुरं चविशन्ति ॥

'PRĀSA' IN BHĀSA

BY

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO, M.A.

How pleasing some of the anuprāsas or alliterations in Bhāsa are may be shown by a few examples picked up at random from his works. Many of them are as simple as those in the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: *e.g.* सीता भीता भविष्यति । The moment we read them we instinctively feel they are spontaneous or *'apṛthagyatnanirvartya'*—'not arranged by any special effort', to use Ānandavardhana's phraseology.

But the very nature of verbal effects is such that even in great poets, they develop some artificiality, as for example in Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya:

रथाङ्गनामन् वियुतो रथाङ्गश्रोणिबिम्बया ।
अयं त्वां पृच्छति रथी मनोरथशतैर्वृतः ॥ IV. 37;

or in Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita:

दुःखार्दितेभ्यः विषयावृतेभ्यः संसारकान्तारपथास्थितेभ्यः ।
आख्यास्यति ह्येष विमोक्षमार्गः मार्गप्रणष्टेभ्य इवाध्वगेभ्यः ॥ I. 77

With the former in Kālidāsa can be compared the following in Bhāsa, Pratimā II. 11:

शून्यः प्राप्तो यदि रथः भग्नो मम मनोरथः ।
नूनं दशरथं नेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो रथः ॥

Sometimes this jingling assonance of words in Bhāsa is too prosaic and pointless, as in स्वदारापहारिणं चमूविद्राविणं रावणं, or in:

नारायणाय नरलोकपरायणाय लोकाननाय कमलामललोचनाय ।
रामाय रावणविरोचनपातनाय वीराय वीर्यनिलयाय नमो वराय ॥

Abhiṣeka I. 8.

Similar is the effect in the Ūrubhaṅga, verse 5:

उपलविषमा नागेन्द्राणां शरीरधराधरा
दिशि दिशि कृता गृध्रावासा हतातिरथा रथाः ।

अवनिपतयः स्वर्गं प्राप्ताः क्रियामरणे रणे
प्रतिमुखमिमे तत्तत्कृत्वा चिरं निहताहताः ॥

or yet in Pratimā. IV. 17:

गत्वा पूर्वं स्वसैन्यैरभिसरिसमये खं समानैर्विमानैः
विख्यातो यो विमर्दे स स इति बहुशः सासुराणां सुराणाम् ।
स श्रीमांस्त्यक्तदेहो दयितमपि विना स्नेहवन्तं भवन्तं
स्वर्गस्थः साम्प्रतं किं रमयति पितृभिः स्वैर्नरेन्द्रैर्नरेन्द्रः ॥

The following are certainly entertaining, though they may not be of a very high order.

शब्दं मन्दरकन्दरोदरदरी	Ūrubhaṅga 15.
छलबलदलितोरुः	Do 57.
हरिरिव हरिणीनामन्तरे वर्तमानः	Abhiṣeka II. 9
तनयशतनयशून्ये दुर्योधनावशेषे	Ūrubhaṅga, Prastāvanā.
कुलद्वयं हन्ति मदेन नारी कूलद्वयं	Avimāraka I. 3.
सोऽहं मोहं गतोऽस्म्यद्य	Abhiṣeka II. 18.
वरद भरतमार्तं पश्य तावद्यथावत्	Pratimā. IV. 21.
अन्योन्यवीर्यनिकषाः पुरुषाः पतन्ति	Ūrubhaṅga 2.
निपतिततनुः शन्तनुसुतः	Do 61.

यो गाधिपुत्रमखविघ्नकराभिहन्ता युद्धे विराधखरदूषणवीर्यहन्ता ।
दर्पोद्यतोल्बणकबन्धकपीन्द्रहन्ता पायात् स वो निशिचरेन्द्रकुलाभिहन्ता ॥

Nāndī in Abhiṣeka.

पादः पायादुपेन्द्रस्य लोकनेत्रोत्सवः स वः ।
व्याविद्धो नमुचिर्येन तनुताम्रनखेन खे ॥

Nāndī in Dūtavākya.

The following is pleasing. Svapna. V. 5:

स्मराम्यवन्त्याधिपतेः सुतायाः प्रस्थानकाले स्वजनं स्मरन्त्याः ।
बाष्पं प्रवृद्धं नयनान्तलग्नं स्नेहान्ममैवोरसि पातयन्त्याः ॥

as also Abhiṣeka II. 1:

लब्ध्वा वृत्तान्तं रामपत्न्याः खगेन्द्रादारुह्यागेन्द्रं सद्विपेन्द्रं मृगेन्द्रं etc.

The effect in the following also is well-managed.

वक्षस्युत्पतितैः प्रहाररुधिरैः हारावकाशे हृतः

Ūrubhaṅga 51.

The first verse of the Karṇabhāra has *'ra'* as the second letter in all the lines:

नरमृगपतिवर्ष्मालोकनभ्रान्तनाटी-
नरदनुजसुपर्वव्रातपातालोकः ।
करजकुलिशपालीभिन्नदैत्येन्द्रवक्षाः
सुररिपुबलहन्ता श्रीधरोऽस्तु श्रिये वः ॥

The 1st line in Pañcarātra, II. 1, describing the cows: गवां कुलं शोच्यमिहाकुलाकुलं suits the occasion when the cows are being carried away by the Kauravas. The second letter alliterating in Dūtavākya, I. 6:

गतिमतिरहितेषु पाण्डवेषु क्षितिरखिलापि भवेन्ममासपत्ना

is also good. In Dūtavākya, I. 50, the effect adds appropriately the *ojas* required by the context:

दष्टोष्ठो मुष्टिमुद्यम्य तिष्ठत्येष घटोत्कचः ।
उत्तिष्ठतु पुमान्कश्चिद्गन्तुमिच्छेद्यमालयम् ॥

BOOK REVIEWS

HAMARI ADIM JATIYAM (Our Aboriginal Tribes) by Bhagwan Das Kela and Akhil Vinay, Bharatiya Granthamala, Allahabad, 1950. Pp. 380. With illustrations. Rs. 3-8-0.

The present is perhaps the very first book of its kind in Hindī. It deals with the various aboriginal tribes scattered all over India. Combinedly they constitute a very substantial part of the total population of the country. Most of these 25 millions come under what are commonly known as depressed classes. The writers' approach to the subject is friendly and sympathetic. They are not content with merely recording these folks' customs, manners, beliefs, rituals, festivals, lore, songs, dance and the like, but have gone further afield and given a detailed account of what these backward people have in the past contributed to India's struggle for freedom, what services some of India's selfless leaders have rendered for the welfare of this neglected section of humanity and what still remains to be done towards uplifting these under-privileged sons of the soil, socially, economically and politically, so that they become worthy citizens and useful members of society.

The subject-matter has been divided into five sections, each containing several chapters, the total number of chapters being forty-five. These are followed by four appendices, giving (1) samples of folk-songs, (2) ethnological analysis, (3) population of different tribes in different states, and (4) bibliography.

A sketch map, showing the distribution of the tribes in various parts, would have added to the value of the book.

Almost all the books that appear in Hindi in these days are freckled with misprints. The present book is no exception to this frightful rule. Attention has been drawn in the beginning of the book to a handful of them, while for the rest the reader's indulgence has been craved. There are some flaws which cannot be attributed to the printers, such, for instance, as बड़े लगन के साथ for बड़ी लगन के साथ on page 321. The promiscuous use of ब and व cannot but cause annoyance. शबर and शवर used indiscriminately on page 158 may pass unnoticed; but, on the very next page, बिजगापट्टम् and वृहस्पतिवार cannot

help jarring on one's ears. Nor does the orthography of टिप्पनी for टिप्पणी and परिशिष्ठ for परिशिष्ट assort well with a scientific treatise as the present one is.

The illustrations are too few for a book of this sort and those that are there are of poor quality.

B. CH. CHHABRA

HOYSALAS IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY by K. R. Venkataraman. Annamalai University Historical Series. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1950.

The period between the 12th and 14th centuries is important and significant in the history of South India. The gap between Kulottunga I and the founders of Vijayanagar was filled by the Hoysalas who successfully intervened in the politics of the Tamil country and also contributed to the culture and institutions of the region. The book under notice is an amplification of the two lectures that Mr. K. R. Venkataraman delivered in the Annamalai University in 1943.

In the first lecture the author traces the political influence of the Hoysalas over the Tamil country from the days of Ballala II and Narasimha. The Hoysalas tried to prevent the extinction of the Chola monarchy by the Pandyas and maintain the balance of power in the south. The power of the Hoysalas in the Tamil country had increased so much that Somesvara's son Vira Ramanatha came to be in charge of the Tamil provinces with Kannanur as his capital. But with the death of Visvanatha, his son Vira Ballala III became the sole ruler of the Hoysala kingdom. In the course of his deadly contest with the Sultans of Madurai he was killed.

In the second lecture, which is more interesting, the author deals with the nature and influence of the Hoysala rule over the Tamil country. Mr. Venkataraman feels that the Hoysalas more than any other ruling house made a distinct contribution to the spread of the Vaishnava movement in South India. They patronised Vaishnava scholars and made large endowments to great Vaishnava Temples in the South. The Hoysala endowments to Saiva temples were equally rich and numerous. The Poysalesvaram temple at Kannanur constructed by the Hoysalas is shown to contain certain distinctive characteristics. The Hoysala penetration into the Tamil country bore some important results. It led to the settlement of the Kannadiyars in large numbers in the region and the consequent end of

Tamil isolation. The religious movements in the Tamil country spread to the north through the Kannada country. Commercially the Tamil country became more closely connected with the Kannada and the Telugu areas.

This little book throws welcome light on a little-known period of South Indian History.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

POPULARIZATION OF SANSKRIT by G. S. Huparikar, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, 1950. Annas 8.

In this instructive pamphlet Prof. Huparikar gives in a nutshell the main lines of his inquiry into the question of the popularization of Sanskrit, a national problem which has to be tackled on governmental basis. The author summarises herein the matter dealt with by him in detail in his book "The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching", reviewed in a previous volume of this Journal (Vol. XVII. pp. 181-182).

The author establishes the importance and immediate necessity of popularising Sanskrit and suggests a judicious harmonization of the ancient and modern methods and simplifying the language without mutilating it, so that it might be accessible to the common man and not present any undue difficulty to the student. Some of the means that Prof. Huparikar suggests, like the adaptation of the direct method of teaching, enlisting the help of the provincial language which would contain a good number of *Tatsama* vocabulary, methods of simplification of grammar and concentration on appreciation of literature rather than on the technicalities of grammar, deserve commendation. The author also suggests methods for the compilation of graded textbooks and books for rapid reading. The idea of Basic Sanskrit, parallel to Basic English, with the essential minimum vocabulary and forms, enunciated by the author is a welcome suggestion, and if properly carried out, would substantially aid the popularization of Sanskrit.

K. V. SARMA

TIRUKKURAL: *Poruṭpal* with the commentaries of *Kalingar* and *Parippерumal*. Edited by the late T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati. Rs. 4.

It is still a mystery when the genius Tiruvalluvar was born. However, that the poets of the Third Sangam and

some who flourished anterior have quoted the apothegms of the Socrates of South India is beyond doubt.

Saint Valluvar has been placed by the Tamil poets and commentators on a par with *Nānmukhan* or *Brahmā.* They declare that the essentials of Vedas have been propounded in three divisions by Brahmā himself in the guise of Tiruvalluvar. In the Mahābhārata (*Śānti* 58), it is said that when the world was in a topsy-turvy condition, Brahmā composed his *Trivarga*, Dharmārthakāma, at the request of Devas, in a hundred thousand chapters. *Bāhudantaka*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Śukranīti*, the well known codes, came forth later. Like his predecessors, Śiva, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Śukra, Valluvar also might have composed his *Trivarga* or *Muppāl*, and it may be noted that before the time of Valluvar, no code like *Tirukkural* was in existence in the land of the Tamils.

There was a caste called Valluvar, whose profession was to carry out the orders of the Kings by tom-tom, seated on an elephant's back. Some of these were astrologers by profession. So, some scholars believe that Valluvar belonged to that caste, but this theory, though it has gained currency to some extent, stands discredited.

The author who composed this master-piece must have been a genius well versed in *Vedas*, *Śāstras*, *Smṛtis* and such works as the *Kāmandaka*, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* and *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*. The term Vallabha is synonymous with the words proficient, adept or expert. The administrative heads, who function as Ministers in a State or Commander-in-chief, were styled generally as *Valluvars* in those days. Without the considerable experience of an administrator and without a mastery over polity and statecraft, one could not have composed a classic like *Tirukkural*. Tiruvalluvar occupies a unique position in his *Arattuppal*, which enumerates the ways and means of performing *Dharma* as propounded by the foremost *Samskritists* under three heads: *Iṣṭa*, *Pūrta* and *Datta*.

The term 'Kural' signifies the metre. No less than ten authors have written commentaries on this classic. Of these, *Parimelazhakar's* is the best known and foremost, a position it had held all along till some scholars of today busied themselves to point out the so-called defects of this commentary.

A careful perusal of these commentaries will of course convince the readers that their authors were *Vaidikas*. In support of this, the following may be cited:

1. Iraimatci. Ch. 1 Stanza 2. Page 3—'அந்தணர் முதலாக இழிகுலத்தார் ஆகிய புலையர் ஈறாக'

(Kāliṅgar).

2. Iraimatci. Stanza 4. Page 4—'அருமறை முதலாதிய அறநீதி முடிவாக இங்ஙனம் தாம் கற்கத்தகும் அவற்றைக் கற்கும் கல்வியும்'

(Kāliṅgar).

3. Page 66 'இராமாயணம் பாரதம் முதலிய'

(Kāliṅgar).

4. Page 77 'அறுவகைத் தொழிலுக்கு உரியர் ஆகிய அந்தணரும் அருமறை ஓதலும் மறந்துவிடுவர்'

(Kāliṅgar).

The commentator Pāripperumāl quotes the systems of Vyāsa, Maheśvara, Nārada, Parāśara, Kauṭilya, Droṇa, Uddhavācārya and Śukra. He quotes the names of Kings from *Purāṇa-Itihāsa* and none from Tamil classics with the exception of *Saccanda* of *Cintāmaṇi*, one of the five Mahākāvyas in Tamil.

The Editor of this work under review avers that "ஒருவந்தம்" is a *Tanittamil* word meaning "பெருஞ்செல்வம்", and not a hybrid one as Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai has held. His arguments in support of his contention are as follows: 1. "ஒருவந்தம்" is a *Tanittamil* word. 2. Valluvar never used the hybrid combinations, but used only singly pure Samskrit words like 'தவம்', 'தூது', 'அமைச்சு', 'மானம்'. 3. The term 'ஒருவந்தம்' which gives the meaning 'பெருஞ்செல்வம்' was in vogue at the time of Valluvar and became obsolete after him. Ignoring the vehemence with which the learned editor criticises Sri Vaiyapuri Pillai's contention, we may point out that even *Tolkāppiyar*, the pioneer grammarian, has used hybrid words like 'மங்கல மொழி' and 'அந்தமில் சிறப்பு'. (Tol. Porul. Sūtras 243 and 244). "ஒருவந்தம்" is a hybrid one like 'மங்கல மொழி'. Here Valluvar uses "ஒருவந்தம்" in the sense "ஒருதலையாக". (Tirukkural, stanzas 563 and 593). Pāripperumāl and Parimelalakar are in complete agreement in the meaning 'ஒருதலையாக'. The word 'ஒருவந்தம்' which gives the meaning 'பெருஞ்செல்வம்' according to Kāliṅgar and Sri Palaniappa Pillai does not find a place in any of the Tamil classics. Lexicons also

do not give any meaning except 'இரு முடிவு'. The editor asserts dogmatically, but fails to quote an usage to his support, and justifies his contention by giving an explanation that the word became obsolete!

At page 79, Kāliṅgar prefers the reading 'இக்கு' and dismisses 'இச்சி' another reading. In vain, the editor's praise here for Kāliṅgar's reading shows only his undue partiality to him. The commentaries of Kāliṅgar on two stanzas (Ch. 20, stanza 6 and Ch. 21, stanza 6) are too long and contain extraneous matter.

Pāripperumāl, like his successor Parimelalakar, is at his best in commenting on stanza 9 of chapter 35, where Kāliṅgar tumbles down. One cannot help the feeling that the two commentaries under review are bound to enhance the reputation of Parimelalakar's commentary.

Considering the paucity of materials on the time and personality of Tiruvalluvar, it may not be improper to point out that the time and labour frittered away in efforts to fix the age or parentage of the great Valluvar could be utilised with profit to popularise the lofty teachings of the immortal *Kural* whose high ideals of life, when followed, would make for us a better world to live in.

E. K. NATESA SARMA

MM. PROF. D. V. POTDAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME, Ed. Dr. Surendranath Sen, Poona, 1950. Copies can be had of Prof. R. V. Oturkar, Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona-2. Rs. 16.

This substantial volume of Essays and Studies is a tribute which the pupils and admirers of Prof. Potdar have paid to that well-known scholar of Maharashtra on his rounding off a sixty-year cycle of learning and public activity. The variety of the subjects dealt with is obvious from the short notices that follow of the various papers.

B. Kataki suggests that the word 'Varāha' (boar) comes from some early formation like *varābha* (cloud, udder). P.K. Gode's paper on the history of maize in India and S. Mahdihasan's on the Chinese origin of the word 'rice' are illuminative of the ways in which distant countries may get into touch with each other. N. G. Chapekar shows doubts on Viśvāmitra having been a Kṣatriya and asks whether the Kauśikas were the first tribe to set foot in India or the ṛṣis s

named were the most ancient among ṛṣis, and believes that the Viśvāmitras had Indra for their favourite among the Gods. B. R. Kulkarni holds that Indra and Pūṣan are prayed to lend their hand in making Sītā, an annual goddess, fruitful, that Pūṣan's place here is due to his star-group Revatī, rising at the commencement of the sowing season, and that this points to an antiquity of 24,000 years. C. G. Kashikar essays at corrections of the readings in the seventh Praśna of Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra. P. C. Divanji argues that the Bhagavad Gītā reached its present form by at least the time of Patañjali, that the Brahman of the Gītā is the Prajāpati, Cosmic God, whose position is that of the Śabda-brahman of Vedānta. G. V. Devasthali finds the one principle of the teaching of the Bhagavad Gītā in Karma, viz. that Karma results in bondage or is unable to bind according as it is or is not performed with rāga and dveṣa or saṅga. A. S. Altekar speculates on the history of Vaisali from 480 B. C. to about 320 A. D. and suggests what archeological excavation at the site should direct itself to. G. Venkata Rao approaches the 'authorship' of the śilāstambhas of Asokan inscriptions from a new point of view. B. K. Barua sketches briefly the course of Buddhism in Assam. V. R. Talwalkar traces Buddhist motifs in what he calls Byzantine architecture from 262 B. C. to 328 A. D. H. D. Sankalia adds a few archaeological traces of Buddhism in Gujarat to what he had noticed earlier. A. N. Upadhye compresses much into a short paper on Jainas and Jainism. Y. R. Gupte points to the value of the inscriptional, architectural and sculptural remains of the caves at Nasik, and leans to the opinion that the sculptures in Cave XVII represent, not Roman types, but Bactrian or Ionian Greeks, Satraps or their kinsmen. S. K. Dikshit deals at length with the obvious in the methods of archaeological excavation. T. K. Joseph shows the unedifying depths to which the controversy over the remains of St. Thomas has sunk. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri draws attention to new epigraphical finds bearing on later Pallava dates and suggests the need to allow for some overlapping reigns. G. S. Dikshit traces the course of Western Chalukya relations with Central India. R. C. Majumdar relates how mixed were the reactions of Hindus to the incursions of Muslim invaders and draws a moral for the future. S. R. Sarma peers into the enigma which Nasar-ud-Din Khusru was in mediaeval history and points to his reconversion to

Hinduism in his reign as an indication of a revolutionary change in Hindu society. H. K. Sherwani uses the coinage of the Bahmanis to correct and supplement the chronicles for the period from 1347 to 1537 A. D. M. Rama Rao points to the Bāhubalendras having been the last Hindu chiefs to oppose the establishment of Muslim rule in Kalinga. H. Goetz draws attention to an early illustrated Rajput manuscript of the 16th century and argues that it points to Rajput art having absorbed the Jaina-Gujarat gradually. M. G. Dikshit edits two inscriptions at Mahesvar (Mahishmati), one of them of 1566 A.D. in incorrect Sanskrit with an admixture of some Persian terms, and the other a badly engraved one, recording how the foundation of a temple was laid in 1799 A. D. and it was completed about 1824. P.M. Joshi summarises the story of Asad Beg's mission, at Akbar's instance, to Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, in 1603-4 A. D., and says that Akbar's issue of Rama-Sita gold mohar, on the occasion, perhaps, of the marriage of Prince Dāniyāl with Sultana Begum, may mark the completion of the mission. A. D. Verma deals with the four 'stages' of Sufi doctrine as referred to in the Hindi works of Malik Muhammad Jayasi. V. T. Gune shows how the indigenous tenures of Maharashtra served as the basis of civil and justice administration, becoming the common law of the people under the sultans of the Dekkhan, and led to the unification of the Maharashtra masses by the end of the 17th century. V. D. Rao gives an account of a second coronation of Sivaji, but according to Tantric rites. C. S. Srinivasachari deals with a Tamil account, drawn up in the early years of the 19th century, of Sivaji's expedition to the South and of the Mughal siege of Gingee. M.S. Agaskar traces the history of the docks of Bombay and of ship-building there from 1670 to 1800. B. N. Reu deals with a farman of Mohammad Shah of 1740 A. D. and to a Sanad of the latter half of the 18th century, in which the Muslim rulers, including Aurangzeb, direct that due respect should be paid by Hindus and Muhammadans to certain Jaina saints. S. H. Askari deals with untapped material in Persian works relating to the activities of the Mahrathas in the 18th century and gives extracts from incidental references. Ganda Singh summarises the early relations between the Marathas and the Sikhs to whom it was given in common to be torch-bearers of freedom. A. D. Pusalkar invites attention to some Sanskrit

works referring especially to the Bhosalas of Maharashtra and the Maratha rulers of Tanjore. K. R. Venkataraman draws attention to a Maratha leaven working in Pudukkottai influencing its administrative and cultural history. T. S. Shejwalkar throws light on the character of Naro Vishnu Apte, an adventurer who having been a trusted captain of the last Peshwa, had a hand in the turmoils of middle India down to his death in 1843, and evokes a warning from his career. V. G. Dighe, as an object lesson to the future, lays the finger on the cancerous spots the fester in which brought about the Maratha downfall. K. H. Kamdar shows how the history of Baroda must be understood as one shaped largely by its having had to be an outpost of Hinduism. K. Datta reviews Indo-French culture-contact in the first half of the 19th century.

T. G. Aravamuthan

B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume: *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV (1948-49). Indian Culture Institute, Calcutta.

It is but proper that the first volume of the *Indian Culture* published after the demise in March, 1948, of Dr. Beni Madhab Barua, the eminent Bengali scholar, "who dominated the stage of Buddhistic studies in Bengal for more than quarter of a century" and one of the founder-members of this Journal, is issued to commemorate his high scholarship and life-long service in the cause learning. The contributions made by Dr. Barua to Pali and Buddhist studies are vast and varied; a bibliography of his writings, 17 books and 59 articles, mainly on the above subjects, given by H. C. Raychaudhuri at the close of a biographical note about Dr. Barua, bears ample testimony to the fruits of his labour in these fields of study.

About a third of the papers contained in this volume relate to Pali and Buddhism. 'Escape (Nissaraṇa)' by I. B. Horner treats in an exhaustive manner the 'states or conditions that are to be escaped from' (nissaraṇīya) according to the Pali canon. W. Stede expounds clearly the Antaka-Anantaka theory of Buddhism and shows how it advocates the value and beauty of life for its own sake. G. N. Roerich translates the Tibetan work Paralokasiddhi, (which itself is a translation from the original Sanskrit), which expounds the Buddhist view of life after death. In a well-documented paper D. L. Barua gives bibliographical information about forty works on Pali grammar, rhetoric and prosody, produced in India, Ceylon and

Burma. H. C. Raychaudhuri, in a short paper, offers a revised explanation of the emblem of the Republic of India; on the basis of Chakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Sutta taken along with the well-known Dhammachakkap-pavattana-Sutta, it is suggested that the wheel, the animals and the lion harmonise the *regal* and spiritual suzernity over the land.

Vedic literature is represented by the article 'Vedic Ṛtu' by Louis Renou; it is a study on the semantics of the word 'ṛtu', which originally meant 'time, suitable time for sacrifice', and even 'rule' and 'usage'. Nalini Nath Das Gupta in his 'Early Bengal's contribution to Brahminical philosophy', surveys the productions in the various śāstras till about the 12th century A. D., when Bengal was dominated by Buddhism; it may be specially noted that the Prābhākara system of Mīmāṁsa had established itself well in Bengal.

History is well represented. C. S. Srinivasachari sketches the career and fall of Robert Orme of East India Company fame, at Madras. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri critically examines the Viṣṇukuṇḍin plates. V. R. R. Dikshitar recounts the connection between South India and Ceylon from very early days. Adris Banerji reconstructs a connected history of the rise and fall of Yasovarman of Kanauj (*c.* 720-750 A.D.) from the slender historical material available. The paper on 'Collapse of the early Chalukya rule in the Western Deccan' by G. C. Raychaudhury recounts the causes that contributed to the loss of power of the Chalukyas in the middle of the 8th century.

The paper on 'Status of territorial, social and economical groups in early Smṛtis' by U. N. Ghoshal is an informative study on ancient Indian sociology, and shows how local customs and practices were given due place in civic administration, and gives evidence to the existence of 'gaṇas' (groups) who owned common property and had their own stringent codes of law. The late D. R. Bhandarkar, in a short paper, points out to the existence of the Sātvata (vaiṣṇava) sect, akin to the Vallabha, in the Punjab, from an inscription of the 4th-5th century A.D. In his paper on the 'Custom of holding grass as a token of surrender', P. K. Gode has collected information on the subject from various sources, the earliest reference being to the Dūtavākya of Bhāsa.

There are four papers on the fauna and flora of India, one on the former and three on the latter, all of which are interest-

ing and informative studies. V. S. Agrawala's 'Fauna in the Aṣṭādhyāyī' presents from scattered words and usages illustrated by Pāṇini, an interesting study on the classification of animals, names of animals, feeding and stock, life-history of the cow, the bull, breeds, branding of cows and branding marks. 'Ancient Indian Flora' by B. C. Law gives an alphabetical list of flora mentioned in Indian literature with short descriptions of each and is bound to be of much referential value to researchers in the botany of Indian plants. G. P. Majumdar's paper on 'Plants in erotics' elaborates on the profuse references made to medicinal herbs and herbal preparations in treatises on Kāmaśāstra. C. A. Rylands' note on 'Karṇikāra in Kālidāsa's works' tries to identify the plant botanically from its description.

The only paper on linguistics, the 'Problems of Indian linguistics' is from the pen of Batakrishna Ghosh, another founder-editor of this journal whose scholarly career was unfortunately cut short by premature death, and forms the Presidential Address delivered by him at the Linguistics section of the XIVth All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, in 1948.

K. V. SARMA

INDEX OF PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE (SESSIONS I TO XII): 1919—1944. Compiled by K. Venkateswara Sarma. Poona, 1949. 6¾" x 10". Pp. xli+501. Price Rs. 6 (for Members) and Rs. 12 (for others). Copies can be had of the General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

All Indologists should be thankful to Sri Sarma for this Index, which enhances the value of the scholarly contents of the twelve volumes of the Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference replete with papers on all aspects of Indology. The present volume contains a Foreword by Dr. S. K. De, the General President of the XVth session of the Conference at which the Index was published, a Resume of the Conference, a brief historical sketch (1919-1949), an Author Index, a Title Index, and two Appendices containing Tables of Inviting bodies, Presidents, Secretaries, Sectional Presidents, etc. This volume has thus become indispensable to every research worker in Indology who wants to know at a glance the papers contributed to the leading All-India institution of Indological research by different scholars on different branches of Indology.

To prepare a complete alphabetical bibliography of about 3,000 papers with precision and care speaks volumes of the patience, industry and acumen of Sri Sarma, and it may be specially noted that in cases where a paper has not been included in the Conference Proceedings, but has been published elsewhere, such publication has also been traced and appropriate reference given. Since the publication of this Index, a credit-table performance for a young author, Sri Sarma has been taken up by the University of Madras as an Assistant for the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* work of my esteemed friend Dr. V. Raghavan, Head of the Department of Sanskrit of that University. The Madras University is to be congratulated on the appointment of two assistants for expediting the preparation and publication of this Catalogue of international academic importance.

While congratulating Sri Sarma and the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference upon the production of this nice Index, we may suggest that all volumes of papers to be published by the Conference hereafter should be provided with a General Index as a rule so that the varied material in these volumes could be used by research scholars without any waste of time and labour.

P. K. GODE

THE ROAD TO SALVATION by P. N. S IYER, Former Private Secretary to Sir Chinubhai Madhowlal Baronet, with an Introduction by Pandit K. A. Lakshmana Sastri. Kalpathi, Palghat, 1950, pp. 32.

Over a hundred pithy sayings, epigrams and sound pieces of advice pertinent to modern life, culled from different sources such as religious literature and proverbs, and supplemented and annotated by the varied experiences in life of the author, form the contents of this neatly printed and well brought-out booklet.

K. V. SARMA

SOUTH INDIAN INFLUENCES IN THE FAR EAST by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Publishers: Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, 1949. Pp. 159, with a map. Rs. 4/8.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri needs no introduction. He is well-known for his scholarly researches in the History of India, particularly of South India, and also for his excellent latest work, History of India, of which parts one and two have already been published. The book under review is an admir-

able survey of the South Indian influences in the Far Eastern countries, like Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and Indo-China. Prof. Sastri, illustrating profusely from inscriptions, gives us an idea of how deep the influence of Hindu cult had taken roots during those days of Hindu colonisation. The similarities in early architecture, in the organisation of rural economy and village administration, in social life, in the use of the Śaka era, the abundance of Sanskrit words in their languages—all show us unmistakable influences of Indian origin. Excavations have shown various Indian articles of domestic use all along the far-eastern countries, furnishing us the necessary links indicating the route taken by Hindu culture in its migration to the Far East. Prof. Sastri cites from Chinese and indigenous chronicles in support of his theories. The survival of many traces of Hindu ceremonial even to the present day are also evidences which cannot be disputed. The spread of Buddhism must also be attributed to this flow of Indian culture, ideas, rituals and linguistic affinities, which continued without a stop from India to the Far East. The fact that Hindu influences still persist in the Far East—parts of which have been converted to Islam, shows how firmly Indian culture has taken root there. It is not out of place to give an instance of the many which Prof. Sastri cites in his book. The Muslim priests of Champa (Annam) are called even to-day, 'ācār' (Sanskrit—'ācārya') and among them the head—priest is called 'gru' (Sanskrit—'guru').

This book, as is stated in the introduction, is not a systematic account or a history of Hindu Civilisation in the Far East. It is only a survey of a particular aspect of the movement, with special reference to the role played by South India in the early history of the countries of the Far East. It is very interestingly written and will certainly interest the reader to make him pursue this fascinating subject further.

M. Somasekhara Sarma.

iv. *Kaṟpiyal* (The chapter on the life of the householder after he has taken his wife with due ceremonies.)

What is the definition of *Kaṟpù*?

140. கற்பெனப் படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்
கொளற்குரி மரபிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்
கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக் கொள்வதுவே[1].

Kaṟp-eṉa-p paṭuvatu karaṇamoṭu puṇara-k
Koḷaṟk-uri marapiṟ kiḻavaṉ kiḻattiyai-k
Koṭaikk-uri marapiṉōr koṭuppa-k-koḷ vatu-v-ē

Kaṟpù is that wherein the deserving bridegroom is made to get the hand of the worthy bride by those who are qualified to give her away with the necessary ceremonies like *hōma* etc.

Note 1. *Karaṇam* stands for *agnāukaraṇam* which means *hōma* done in fire. Hence it means here all the ceremonies done during the marriage.

Note 2. From the fourth *sūtra* it is evident that *kaṟpù* system of marriage is later than *kaḷavu*. Hence a new word should have been coined in Tamil language to denote it. *Kaṟpù* is possibly the curtailed form of *kaṟpam* which is the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *kalpa* which means *vidhi*.

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar derives *kaṟpù* from the root *karpi-ttal* and tells us that it is called *kaṟpù*, since the bride is advised by her relatives how to behave towards the husband, and by her husband how to run the house, and since *agni* is requested how to look after her and she is advised how to render service to *agni*.

Note 3. *Kaṟpù* may happen after and before *kaḷavu* becomes known to all, after and before physical union takes place between lovers and even without *kaḷavu*.

Is there *karaṇam* when there is none to give the bride away in marriage?

---

1. *Pratipannām abhiprētāvakāśavartinīm nāyakaḥ śrōtriyāgārāt agnim ānāyya kuśān āstīrya yathāsmṛti hutvā triḥ parikramēt; tatō mātari pitari ca prakāśayēt... tad-bāndhavāśca yathā kulasya agham pariharantō daṇḍabhayācca tasmā ēva ēnām dadyuḥ tathā yōjayēt* (*Kāmasūtra* 3, 4, 12-15)

141. கொடுப்போ ரின்றியுங் கரண முண்டே
புணர்ந்துடன் போகிய காலை யான.[1]

Koṭuppō r-iṉṟi-y-uṅ karaṇa m-uṇṭ-ē
Puṇarnt-uṭaṉ pōkiya kālai y-āṉ-a

There is *karaṇam* even when there are no relatives to give the bride away, when she goes away with the lover.

To whom was *karaṇam* first enjoined?

142. மேலோர் மூவர்க்கும் புணர்ந்த கரணம்
கீழோர்க் காகிய காலமு முண்டே.

Mēlōr mūvarkkum puṇarnta karaṇam
Kīḻōrk k-ākiya kālam-u m-uṇṭ-ē

There was a time when the *karaṇam* enjoined to the first three castes began to be adopted for the fourth.

When was it?

143. பொய்யும் வழுவும் யாத்த பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரண மென்ப.

Poy-y-um vaḻu-v-um yātta piṉṉar
Aiyar yāttaṉar karaṇa m-eṉpa.

They say that *karaṇam* was introduced by *āryas* after the lovers began to prove false and the ladies were considered unworthy.

Note 1. *Aiyar* is the *tadbhava* of *ārya*. Though *ārya* generally refers to brahman, kṣatriya and vaiśya, yet it may refer here only to brahman, since brahman alone is said to have gone south from Northern India.

Note 2. *Eṉpa* suggests that the introduction of *karaṇam* among Tamils was before the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. This *sūtra* and the previous one suggest that the Āryas and Tamils lived together for a long time before him, that the Tamils began to adopt the Vedic religion long before him, that *kaḷavu* system was satisfactory for a long time and when it was found unsatisfactory, *kaṟpu* system was introduced in Tamilnad in consonance with what is found in the *Dharmaśāstra*.

What are the occasions for the husband to have his say?

144. கரணத்தி னமைந்து முடிந்த காலை
நெஞ்சு தளை யவிழ்ந்த புணர்ச்சிக் கண்ணும்

1- Ātmanō bandhur-ātmāiva gatir-ātmāiva cātmanaḥ |
Ātmanāivātmanō dānam kartum arhasi dharmataḥ (Mahābhārata, Ādi. 94, 13)

எஞ்சா மகிழ்ச்சி யிறந்துவரு பருவத்தும்
அஞ்ச வந்த வுரிமைக் கண்ணும்
நன்னெறிப் படருந் தொன்னலப் பொருளினும்
பெற்ற தேஎத்துப் பெருமையி னிலைஇக்[1]
குற்றஞ் சான்ற பொருளெடுத் துரைப்பினும்
நாமக் காலத் துண்டெனத் தோழி
ஏமுறு கடவு ளேத்திய மருங்கினும்
அல்ல றீர வார்வமொ டளைஇச்[2]
சொல்லுறு பொருளின் கண்ணுஞ் சொல்லென
ஏனது சுவைப்பினு நீகை தொட்டது
வானோ ரமிழ்தம்[3] புரையுமா லெமக்கென
அடிசிலும் பூவுந் [4]தொடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
அந்தணர் திறத்துஞ் சான்றோர் தேஎத்தும்
அந்தமில் சிறப்பிற் பிறர்பிறர் திறத்தினும்
ஒழுக்கங் காட்டிய குறிப்பினு மொழுக்கத்துக்
களவினு ணிகழ்ந்த வருமையைப் புலம்பி
அலமர லுள்ளமொ டளவிய விடத்தும்
அந்தரத் தெழுதிய வெழுத்தின் மான
வந்த குற்றம் வழிகெட வொழுகலும்
அழிய லஞ்சலென் றாயிரு பொருளினும்
தானவட் பிழைத்த பருவத் தானும்
நோன்மையும் பெருமையு மெய்கொள வருளிப்[5]
பன்னல் சான்ற வாயிலொடு பொருந்தித்
தன்னி னாகிய தகுதிக் கண்ணும்
புதல்வற் பயந்த புனிறுதீர்[6] பொழுதின்
நெய்யணி மயக்கம் புரிந்தோ ணோக்கி
ஐயர் பாங்கினு மமரர்ச் சுட்டியும்
செய்பெருஞ் சிறப்பொடு சேர்தற் கண்ணும்
பயங்கெழு துணையணைப் புல்லிப் புல்லாது
உயங்குவள் கிடந்த கிழத்தியைக் குறுகி
அல்கன்[7] முன்னிய நிறையழி பொழுதின்
மெல்லென் சீறடி புல்லிய விரவினும்
உறலருங் [8]குரைமையி னூடன் மிகுத்தோளைப்
பிறபிற பெண்டிரிற் பெயர்த்தற் கண்ணும்

---

1. நிலைஇ (இளம்.); நிலைஇய (நச்.)
2. அளைஇ (இளம்.); அளைஇய (நச்.)
3. அமிழ்தம் (இளம்.); அமுதம் (நச்.)
4. தொடுத்தற்கண் (இளம்.); தொடுதற்கண் (நச்.)
5. அருளி (இளம்.); அருளிய (நச்.)
6. தீர் (இளம்.); சேர் (நச்.)
7. அல்கல் (இளம்.); புல்கென (நச்.)
8. உரைமை (இளம்.); உண்மை (நச்.)

பிரிவி னெச்சத்துப் புலம்பிய இருவரைப்
பரிவு[1] நீக்கிய பகுதிக் கண்ணும்
நின்றுநனி பிரிவி னஞ்சிய பையுளும்
சென்றுகை யிகந்துபெயர்த் துள்ளிய வழியும
காமத்தின் வலியுங் கைவிடி னச்சமும்
தானவட் பிழைத்த நிலையின் கண்ணும்
உடன்சேறற் செய்கையொ டன்னவை பிறவும
மடம்பட வந்த தோழிக் கண்ணும்[2]
வேற்றுநாட் டகல்வயின் விழுமத் தானும்
மீட்டுவர வாய்ந்த வகையின் கண்ணும்
அவ்வழிப் பெருகிய சிறப்பின் கண்ணும்
பேரிசை யூர்திப் பாகர் பாங்கினும்
காமக் கிழத்தி மனையோ ளென்றிவர்
ஏமுறு கிளவி சொல்லிய வெதிரும்
சென்ற தேஎத் துழப்புநனி விளக்கி
இன்றிச் சென்ற தன்னிலை[3] கிளப்பினும்
அருந்தொழின் முடித்த செம்மற் காலை
விருந்தொடு நல்லவை வேண்டற் கண்ணும
மாலை யேந்திய பெண்டிரு மக்களும்
கேளி ரொழுக்கத்துப் புகற்சிக் கண்ணும்
ஏனை [4]வாயிலோ ரெதிரொடு தொகைஇப்
பண்ணமை பகுதிமுப் பதினொரு மூன்றும்[5]
எண்ணருஞ் சிறப்பிற் கிழவோன் மேன.

Karaṇatti ṉ-amainta muṭinta kālai
Neñcu-talai y-aviḻnta puṇarcci-k kaṇṇum
Eñcā makiḻcci y-iṟantu-varu paruvattum
Añca vanta v-urimai-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Naṉṉeṟi-p paṭarun toṉṉala-p poruḷiṉum
Peṟṟa tēettu-p perumaiyi ṉilaii-k
Kuṟṟañ cāṉṟa poruḷ-eṭut t-uraippiṉum
Nāma-k kālat t-uṇṭ-eṉa-t tōḻi
Ēm-uṟu kaṭavu ḷ-ēttiya maruṅkiṉum
Alla ṟira v-ārvamo ṭ-aḷaii-c
Col-l-uṟu poruḷiṉ kaṇṇuñ col-l-eṉa
Eṉatu cuvaippiṉu nī-kai toṭṭatu
Vāṉō r-amiḻtam puraiyum-ā l-emakk-eṉa

---

1. பரிவு (இளம்.); பிரிவின் (நச்.)
2. தோழிகண்ணும் (இளம்.); தோழிக்கண்ணும் (நச்.)
3. தன்னிலை (இளம்.); தந்நிலை (நச்.).
4. வாயிலோர் (இளம்.); வாயில் (நச்.)
5. பதினொருமூன்றும் (இளம்.); முப்பதினொருமூன்றும் (நச்.)

Aṭicil-um pū-v-un toṭuttar kaṇṇum
Antaṉar tiṟattuñ cāṉṟōr tēettum
Antam-il ciṟappiṟ piṟar-piṟar tiṟattiṉum
Oḻukkaṅ kāṭṭiya kuṟippiṉu m-oḻukkattu-k
Kaḷaviṉu ṉikaḻnta v-arumaiyai-p pulampi
Alamara l-uḷḷamo ṭ-aḷaviya v-iṭattum
Antarat t-eḻutiya v-eḻuttiṉ māṉa
Vanta kuṟṟam vaḻi-keṭa v-oḻukal-um
Aḻiya l-añcal-eṉ ṟ-ā-y-iru poruḷiṉ-um
Tāṉ-avaṭ piḻaitta paruvat tāṉ-um
Nōṉmai-y-um perumai-y-um mey-koḷa v-aruḷi-p
Paṉṉal cāṉṟa vāyiloṭu porunti-t
Taṉṉi ṉ-ākiya takuti-k kaṇṇum
Putalvaṟ payanta puṉiṟu-tīr poḻutiṉ
Ney-y-aṇi mayakkam purintō ṉōkki
Aiyar pāṅkiṉ-u m-amarar-c cuṭṭi-y-um
Cey-peruñ ciṟappoṭu cērtaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Payaṅ-keḻu tuṇai-y-aṇai-p pulli-p pullātu
Uyaṅkuvaḷ kiṭanta kiḻattiyai-k-kuṟuki
Alkaṉ muṉṉiya niṟai-y-aḻi poḻutiṉ
Mel-l-eṉ cīr-aṭi pulliya viraviṉum
Uṟal-aruṅ kuraimaiyi ṉ-ūṭaṉ mikuttōḷai-p
Piṟa-piṟa peṇṭiriṟ peyarttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pirivi ṉ-eccattu-p pulampiya v-iruvarai-p
Parivu nīkkiya pakuti-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Niṉṟu-naṉi pirivi ṉ-añciya paiyuḷ-um
Ceṉṟu-kai y-ikantu-peyart t-uḷḷiya vaḻiyum
Kāmattiṉ vali-y-uṅ kai-viṭi ṉ-accam-um
Tān-avaṭ piḻaitta nilaiyiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Uṭaṉ-cēraṟ ceykaiyo ṭ-aṉṉavai piṟa-v-um
Maṭam-paṭa vanta tōḻi-k kaṇ-ṇum
Vēṟṟu-nāṭ ṭ-akalvayiṉ viḻumat tāṉ-um
Mīṭṭu-vara vāynta vakaiyiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Av-vaḻi-p perukiya ciṟappiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pēr-icai y-ūrti-p pākar pāṅkiṉum
Kāma-k kiḻatti maṉaiyō ḷ-eṉṟ-ivar
Ēm-uru kiḷavi colliya vetir-um
Ceṉṟa tē-et t-uḻappu-naṉi viḷakki
Iṉṟi-c ceṉṟa taṉṉilai kiḷappiṉum
Arun-toḻiṉ muṭitta cemmaṟ kālai
Viruntoṭu nallavai vēṇṭaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Mālai y-ēntiya peṇṭir-u makkaḷ-um

Kēḻi r-oḻukkattu-p pukaṟci-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Eṉaiya vāyilō r-etiroṭu tokaii-p
Paṇ-ṇ-amai pakuti-mup patiṉ-oru mūṉṟum
Eṇ-ṇ-aruñ ciṟappiṟ kiḻavōṉ mēṉ-a.

There are thirtythree important occasions when the husband has opportunities to have his say: (1) when he meets in conjugal union his wife with a free mind after the marriage ceremonies are over, (2) whenever he is in ecstasy over the married life while she creates awe in his mind through her keen sense of duty, (3) when she treads the traditional paths of virtue, (4) when he reconciles her objectionable deeds during *kaḷavu* with reference to her greatness shown in married life, (5) when the lady's friend pays homage to the Gracious God who helped them when they were in danger, (6) when the lady lets her mind out with enthusiasm since her period of trial is over, (7) when he takes the food and makes the garland saying that, whatever she touches is as sweet to him as nectar and asking her the reason for the same (8) when he suggests his appreciation of her exemplary conduct towards brahmans, the great and other saints,[1] (9) when both of them recount towards each other the anxiety and turmoils to which they were put during *kaḷavu* (10) when they are leading their life in such a way that the faults committed by them during *kaḷavu* may disappear like letters written on air, (11) when he has to give her words of encouragement not to dishearten herself, nor to fear for her wrongs in *kaḷavu*, (12) when he does not keep his promise to her, (13) when he tells her that he was responsible for everything and hence she has to put up with what is past and think of her greatness after discussing the same with her friend,[2] (14) when he celebrates the birth of his son on looking at his wife after the child is given the ceremonial oilbath with presents to brahmans and prayers to Gods, (15) when he falls at her tender feet praying for mercy while she lies down embracing the soft pillow without allowing herself to be embraced by him on his approaching her after the degeneration of his character through his contact with another

---

1. Naccinārkkiniyar interprets *antam-il-ciṟappiṟ-piṟar* to be *dēvas*; *antam-il-* does not suit in that interpretation.

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is entirely different. It is this: When he performs *sīmanta* while she is pregnant with a child inheriting the nobility and greatness of the father.

woman[1] (16) when he ends the love-quarrel through the intercession of many ladies while she persisted in not allowing him to approach her, (17) when he ends the grief of his wife and faithful concubine caused by his separation from them[2] (18) when he is in distress standing away from the wife, (19) when he approaches her, feels disappointed and thinks of repeating his request,[3] (20) when they are overpowered with *kāma*, (21) when he fears the effect of his separation from her if it happens (22) when he fails to keep his promise to her, (23) when she tells him that she will follow him, (24) when the lady's friend addresses him through her credulity, (25) when he feels disheartened on starting to a foreign land, (26) when he thinks of returning home on the way, (27) when he meets with victory, honour etc., in that foreign country, (28) when he describes the same to the charioteer having very fine chariot, (29) when he is addressed by his wife and the faithful concubine at home with reference to the difficulties undergone by them, (30) when he describes his situation in the foreign land mixed with grief on their separation, (31) when he enjoys the company of the guests in the feast in commemoration of his victorious feat, (32) when he is given warm reception in the evening by women, children and friends, and (33) when he is addressed with warm words by others.

What are the occasions for the wife to have her say?

145. அவனறி வாற்ற வறியு மாகலின்
ஏற்றற் கண்ணு நிறுத்தற் கண்ணும்
உரிமை கொடுத்த கிழவோன் பாங்கின்
பெருமையிற் றிரியா வன்பின் கண்ணும்
கிழவனை மகடூஉப் புலம்புபெரி தாகலின்

---

1. The word *tuṇai-y-aṇai* is taken to mean by the commentators the pillow which serves as support; but it may be taken to mean the son who is the *sandhi* and who is got from her husband; cf. *mātā pūrva-rūpam, pitā uttara-rūpam, prajā sandhiḥ* (Tāittirīyōpaniṣad)

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning seems to be this: when one tries to end the grief of the husband and the wife while the former was in the company of another woman.

3. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is this:—when she finally thinks of agreeing to him after resisting him on account of her seeing marks of his union with another when he approaches her.

அலமரல் பெருகிய காமத்து மிகுதியும்
இன்பமு மிடும்பையு மாகிய விடத்தும்
கயந்தலை தோன்றிய காமர் நெய்யணி
நயந்த கிழவனை நெஞ்சு புண்ணுறீஇ
நளியி னீக்கிய விளிவரு நிலையும்
புகன்ற வுள்ளமொடு புதுவோர் சாயற்கு
அகன்ற கிழவனைப் புலம்புநனி காட்டி
இயன்ற நெஞ்சந் [1] தலைப்பெயர்த் தருக்கி
எதிர்பெய்து மறுத்த வீரத்து மருங்கினும்
தங்கிய வொழுக்கத்துக் கிழவனை வணங்கி
எங்கையர்க் குரையென விரத்தற் கண்ணும்
செல்லாக் காலைச் செல்கென விடுத்தலும்
காமக் கிழத்தி தன்மகத் தழீஇ
ஏமுறு விளையாட் டிறுதிக் கண்ணும்
சிறந்த செய்கை யவ்வழித் தோன்றி
அறம்புரி நெஞ்சமொடு[2] தன்வர வறியாமைப்
புறஞ்செய்து பெயர்த்தல் வேண்டித் தானும்
தந்தைய ரொப்பர் மக்களென் பதனால்
அந்தமில் சிறப்பின் மகப்பழித்து நெருங்கினும்[3]
கொடியோர் கொடுமை சுடுமென வொடியாது
நல்லிசை நயந்தோர் சொல்லொடு தொகைஇப்
பகுதி னீங்கிய தகுதிக் கண்ணும்
கொடுமை யொழுக்கங் கோடல் வேண்டி
அடிமேல் வீழ்ந்த கிழவனை நெருங்கிக்
காத லெங்கையர் காணி னன்றென
மாதர் சான்ற வகையின் கண்ணும்
தாயர் கண்ணிய நல்லணிப் புதல்வனை
மாயப் பரத்தை யுள்ளிய வழியும்
தன்வயிற் சிறைப்பினு[4] மவன்வயிற் பிரிப்பினும்
இன்னாத் தொல்சூ ளெடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
காமக் கிழத்தி[5] நலம்பா ராட்டிய
தீமையின் முடிக்கும் பொருளின் கண்ணும்
கொடுமை யொழுக்கத்துத்[6] தோழிக் குரியவை
வடுவறு சிறப்பிற் கற்பிற் றிரியாமைக்
காய்தலு முவத்தலும் பிரித்தலும் பெட்டலும்
ஆவயின் வரூஉம் பல்வேறு நிலையினும்

---

1. தலைப்பெயர் (இளம்.); தலைப்பெய (நச்.)
2. நெஞ்சமொடு (இளம்.); உள்ளமொடு (நச்.)
3. நெருங்கினும் (இளம்.); நெருங்கலும் (நச்.)
4. சிறப்பினும் (இளம்.); சிறைப்பினும் (நச்.)
5. கிழத்தி (இளம்.); கிழத்தியர் (நச்.)
6. ஒழுக்கத்து (இளம்.); ஒழுக்கம் (நச்.)

वर्षं मानुषमाहु-
दिव्यमहोरात्रमयनयुग्मयुतम् ।
दिव्यानां वर्षाणां
चतुर्युगं द्वादशसहस्रम् ॥ ६७ ॥

तेष्वेकसप्ततिं प्र-
त्येकैको मनु(रिहा)तीतः ।
संप्रति वैवस्वत इ-
त्यूर्ध्वा अपि सप्त ते मनवः ॥ ६८ ॥

तच्च षड्‌नं पूरित-
मवशिष्टारोपणेन तु सहस्रम् ।
ब्राह्ममहः सैव निशा
.... ॥ ६९ ॥

जलहिमतापवहानाम्
अर्कांशूनां तदा सुषुम्नाद्याः ।
सप्त विवस्वन्तस्ते
भूत्वाशु दहन्ति भुवनानि ॥ ७० ॥

संवर्तकजलदस्त-
न्निर्वाप्यो....... ।
................घे
शाम्यत्यवकाशविरहेण ॥ ७१ ॥

एकार्णवे स्वकुक्षौ
कृत्वा शेते जगत् सहस्रशिराः ।
प्रतिबुध्य स्वनिशान्ते
स सृज(ति)........ ॥ ७२ ॥

सर्गादावात्मभुवो
मरीचिरासीत् स काश्यपमवाप ।
तत आसन्नादित्या-
विवस्वतस्तेषु मनुरभवत् ॥ ७३ ॥

मनोरपीक्ष्वाकुरमुष्य........
........मित्रादपि मानसारः ।
स एष नाम्ना खलु रत्नदेव्याः (व्यां ?)
कन्यामयं रत्नमवाप देव्याम् ॥ ७४ ॥

गृहाण तामित्युदकञ्च पित्रा
स पातयामास कुमारपाणौ ।
निधाय वाह्निं विधिवत् पुरोधा
विधिं विवाहोचितमाचचार ॥ ७५ ॥

वधूवरे गर्भगृहं प्रविष्टे
गते मुनीन्द्रे सहराजहंसे ।
आदाय विद्येश्वरसोमदत्तौ
पुष्पोद्भवोऽपि स्वगृहं प्रपेदे ॥ ७६ ॥

सविस्मये राजकुले सतापे
विज्ञाय मायेति नृपे कुमारः ।
विस्रम्भयन्नर्मकथान्तरैस्तै-
रेमे रमण्या रमणीयमूर्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥

अथोपहूतः श्वशुरेण राज्ञा
विलोकनाय प्रतिपारियात्रम् ।
आदाय तस्यानुमतेः स्वकान्तां
ससौव्रतेयः प्रययौ पुरोधाः ॥ ७८ ॥

नक्षत्रताराकुलमन्तरिक्षं
सन्दर्शयन्निन्दुमरीचिगौरः ।
शरन्निशि प्राणसमां कुमार-
स्तस्यै जगद्वृत्तमुदाजहार ॥ ७९ ॥

ततस्तयेत्थं विविधान् विशेषान्
निर्विश्य निद्रानुभवावसाने ।
अबोधि बद्धं निगलेन पश्य-
न्नात्मीयमङ्घ्रिद्वितयं कुमारः ॥ ८० ॥

निरीक्ष्य तत् संभ्रममुक्तनादं
    नरेन्द्रकन्या नितरां रुरोद ।
(अन्तःपुरा)रक्षिबलं विलोक्य
    स्यालाय राज्ञेऽभिदधे कुमारम् ॥ ८१ ॥

स चण्डवर्मा स्वयमेत्य कोपात्
    तद्भ्रातृहन्तुः सुहृदं निहन्तुम् ।
प्रचक्रमे त.................
    ....   ॥ ८२ ॥

...........निधनोन्मुखाभ्यां
    तां दर्पसाराय विनीय वार्ताम् ।
बद्धं कुमारं च सहैव नीत्वा
    रुरोध दण्डेन स चण्डवर्मा ॥ ८३ ॥

संप्राप्य चम्पेश्वर........
    ....निःसहायम् ।
....
    सुतां च हृत्वा शिबिरं प्रपन्नः ॥ ८४ ॥

इयेष चैनां परिणीय हर्तुं
    स दर्पसारानुमतेः कुमारम् ।
तदाश्रयैर्गन्धगजाग्र........
    ....मगधेन्द्रसूनोः ॥ ८५ ॥

....
    .... ।
मुक्त्वा तदङ्घ्री निगलं सुरस्त्री-
    भूत्वा प्रणम्याभ्यभणत् कुमारम् ॥ ८६ ॥

अस्म्यप्सराः सोममरीचिजाता
    सुमञ्जरी नाम दिवि(भ्रमन्ती)
कदाचिदासं जलजन्ममुग्धै-
    र्निबद्धवक्त्रा पथि जालपादैः ॥ ८७ ॥

क्षोभान्ममोरश्च्युतहारयष्टि-
स्पृष्टेन रोषादघमर्षणान्ते ।
शप्तास्मि दत्ते! भव शृङ्खलेति
द्विजेन मन्दोदकवापिकायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥

प्रसाद्यमानेन मयेन्द्रियाणा-
मक्षीणशक्तित्वमकारि तेन ।
मासद्वयं त्वच्चरणोषितायां
मोक्षश्च पश्चादभवं तथैव ॥ ८९ ॥

तामाददे मानसवेगसूनु-
र्विद्याधरः प्राप स दर्पसारम् ।
तेनापकर्तुं नरवाहनाद्ये
दत्तेऽद्य विद्याधरकर्णधारे ॥ ९० ॥

स्वसुः प्रदानं द्युचराय तस्मै
प्रतिश्रुतं तेन स जातु कान्ताम् ।
त्वदङ्कसुप्तामवलोक्य कोपा-
न्मया तवाङ्घ्रिद्वितयं बबन्ध ॥ ९१ ॥

मुक्तोऽद्य शापः करवाणि किं ते
प्रसीद देवेति नतानताङ्गी ।
मद्वार्तयाश्वासय वासु! कान्ताम्
इतीरिता तेन दिवं जगाम ॥ ९२ ॥

अह्नायाथ द्विपवरमुपारुह्य तं कोपवह्नि-
ग्रासीकुर्वन् रिपुबलमसौ रोषताम्रायताक्षः ।
अन्तर्गेहाद् विवहनविधौ चण्डवर्माणमन्तं
नीत्वायान्तं सुहृद(मपहारारव्यम)ग्रे ददर्श ॥ ९३ ॥

मुक्त्वा चम्पेश्वरमुपनतं तस्य साहाय्यहेतो-
स्तत्रोपेतं तदनु सकलं मित्रलोकं विलोक्य ।
......भेजे दीप्तैरुभय..............
मन्दाकिन्याः पुलिनमुदितानन्दमुद्यन्निवेन्दुः ॥ ९४ ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अथ अष्टमः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथासौ सिकतोद्देशे निषीदन् (समुपस्थितान् ।
आश्लिष्य सुहृदःसर्वान)नुरूपमुपाचरन् ॥ १ ॥

बुद्ध्वा सम्बन्धिनस्तेषां धनमित्रादिकानसौ ।
अभिनन्द्यात्मनो वृत्तं विस्तीर्येतरयोरपि ॥ २ ॥

(शुश्रूषुश्चरितं तेषामन्वयुङ्क्त क्रमे)ण तान् ।
अपहारः प्रणम्याथ स्ववृत्तान्तमवर्णयत् ॥ ३ ॥

नगरन्ध्रगते देवे मृगयित्वा भवद्गतिम् ।
चरन्नाकर्ण्य चम्पायां मरीचिं नाम तापसम् ॥ ४ ॥

जिज्ञासुस्त्वद्गतिं तस्माद्दिव्यज्ञानजुषो मुनेः ।
गत्वा तदाश्रमं तस्मिन्नपश्यं विवशं मुनिम् ॥ ५ ॥

कुतो मरीचिरस्मान्नः प्रतिपत्स्ये सुहृद्गतिम् ।
महात्मा स किलेत्युक्तः स मां प्राह स्म निःश्वसन् ॥ ६ ॥

तादृशो मुनिरासीत् तं गणिका काममञ्जरी ।
ववन्दे जातु जातार्तिर्माता च पुनरापतत् ॥ ७ ॥

पृष्टा किमित्यवोचत्ते चरणौ शरणं गता ।
आमुत्रिकसुखायेत्थं जननी च व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥ ८ ॥

एषा मे दोषमाचष्टे स्वाधिकारावतारणम् ।
एष खल्वधिकारो नो दुहितुः साधु वर्धनम् ॥ ९ ॥

अङ्गक्रिया मिताहारैः पोषणं धातुवर्धनैः ।
उत्सवः सर्वदा पुंसां शैशवे नातिदर्शनम् ॥ १० ॥

शिक्षा चानङ्गविद्यानां नृत्तवाद्यादिबोधनम् ।
वार्तावबोधनं शास्त्रेष्वाजीवज्ञानलम्भनम् ॥ ११ ॥

क्रीडा सजीवनिर्जीवद्यूतादिष्ववतारणम् ।
अभ्यासनं जनादाप्तादभ्यन्तरकलासु च ॥ १२ ॥

यात्रोत्सवादिषु स्फीतमण्डनायाः प्रकाशनम् ।
सङ्गीतादिषु तद्वित्तैर्नैपुणख्यापनं जनैः ॥ १३ ॥

पीठमर्दविटप्रायैः शीलमाधुर्यवर्णना ।
अनल्पेन च शुल्केन स्थापनं यौवने(स्थिते ॥ १४ ॥

विशिष्ट)गुणयुक्ताय स्वतन्त्राय समर्पणम् ।
गुणाढ्यायाल्पशुल्केऽपि दानं बह्वपदेशतः ॥ १५ ॥

अस्वतन्त्राय वा दत्त्वा गुरुभ्यः शुल्कसंग्रहः ।
(गान्धर्वेण धनालाभे स्वीकृत्य स्वा)मिनं धनैः ॥ १६ ॥

नीत्यागम्य धनादानं दुग्धप्रायेण विग्रहः ।
लुब्धस्य रागिणस्त्यागोत्थापनं प्रतिहस्तिना ॥ १७ ॥

असारस्यावमानैर्वाक्तर्जनै(रपवाहनम् ।
अर्थदैर्धनिभि)र्भूयः संयोजनमिति स्थितिः ॥ १८ ॥

गणिकायाश्च युक्ता नो गम्यं प्रत्यनुरागिता ।
सत्यामपि क्वचित् प्रीतौ मातृवाक्यानतिक्रमः ॥ १९ ॥

स्वधर्म(मनवेक्ष्येयं क्वचि)द् वैदेशिके द्विजे ।
रमते स्वव्ययेनैषा कुटुम्बं चावसादितम् ॥ २० ॥

निषिद्धा वनवासाय प्राप्तेयं चेत्तपस्यति ।
संस्थास्यते जनः सर्वोऽप्यत्रैवेति रुरोद सा ॥ २१ ॥

आश्वास्यैनां तपश्चर्यादुश्चरत्वनिदर्शनैः ।
निर्बद्धा मुनिनाप्येषा जाता निश्चलनिश्चया ॥ २२ ॥

कालेनानुचितक्लेशा व्यवसायाद् विरंस्यति ।
गम्यतामिति तेनोक्तस्तथेति स्वजनो ययौ ॥ २३ ॥

भक्त्या परिचरन्त्येनमर्चनाकुसुमोच्चयैः ।
त्रिवर्गबद्धया वाचा न चिरात् सान्वरञ्जयत् ॥ २४ ॥

एकान्ते सा तमित्यूचे प्रसङ्गादर्थकामयोः ।
धर्ममेवोत्तमं मन्ये यत्ताभ्यां नैष बाध्यते ॥ २५ ॥

तथा पितामहादीनां श्रूयतां खल्वतिक्रमाः ।
न धर्मपीडां कुर्वन्ति श्रेयान् धर्मस्ततो मतः ॥ २६ ॥

इत्याकर्ण्योल्बणप्रीतिरभ्यधादयि ! सुन्दरि ! ।
अर्थकामानभिज्ञोऽहं कीदृशाविति साब्रवीत् ॥ २७ ॥

कृष्याद्युपायस्तीर्थप्राप्त्यर्थोऽर्थस्त्वर्जनात्मकः ।
अनुत्तरसुखस्पर्शः कामः स्त्रीपुंसयोरिति ॥ २८ ॥

तन्निशम्यासजत्तस्यां मूढात्मा तद्गृहं गतः ।
तया समाजमन्येद्युः स निन्ये नृपसन्निधौ ॥ २९ ॥

जिताहमनया दास्यमभ्युपेतमिति प्रभुम् ।
प्रणनामापरा सापि स्तुता जनतया ययौ ॥ ३० ॥

तमृषिं पुनरि(त्यूचे स्वार्थः) कर्तव्य इत्यसौ ।
प्रिये ! किमेतदित्युक्ता सा तत्कारणमभ्यधात् ॥ ३१ ॥

यया पराजितं तस्मिन् भवदावर्जनं प्रति ।
पणबन्धस्तया (मेऽभूत् कृतार्था त्वत्प्रसादतः) ॥ ३२ ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा जातवैराग्यः शून्यमेव न्यवर्तत ।
सोऽहमस्मि क्षणेन स्यां त्वदर्थापादनक्षमः ॥ ३३ ॥

अस्यां वसाङ्गपुर्यामित्यथास्तमगमद् रविः ।
(नीत्वा निशां सहानेन नगरायोदचालिषम्) ॥ ३४ ॥

बहिर्विहारमासीनमाधिक्षीणमरूपिणम् ।
ऐक्षे क्षपणकं पृष्टः शोकहेतुमशिश्रवत् ॥ ३५ ॥

श्रेष्ठिपुत्रोऽहमत्राढ्यो विरूप इति (कीर्तितः ।
अन्यः सुन्दर)को नाम विश्रुतः कान्तिमानभूत् ॥ ३६ ॥

तयोर्नौ वसुरूपोत्थस्पर्धयोः पौरधान्त्रकाः ।
प्रकृष्टगणिकाप्रार्थ्यः श्लाघतामित्यकल्पयत् ॥ ३७ ॥

(मां पुनर्ग)णिकारत्नं चकमे काममञ्जरी ।
तया स्वायत्तसर्वस्वस्त्यक्तः कौपीनमात्रकः ॥ ३८ ॥

लोकापहासलक्षत्वं प्रपन्नो जैनवर्त्मनि ।
अवतीर्णोऽस्मि सौकर्यात्तस्मिन् दुःसहयन्त्रणः ॥ ३९ ॥

श्रुतिवर्त्मापवादेन प्रवृद्धानुशयः स्वयम् ।
एकान्तमेत्य शोचामीत्याकर्ण्याहमभाणिषम् ॥ ४० ॥

मा विषादीर्निर्जैर्गुम्नैर्योजयामीति तां पुरीम् ।
आविशन्नक्षधूर्तानामपश्यं केलिकौशलम् ॥ ४१ ॥

क्वचित् प्रमादविन्यस्तशारके हसितं मया ।
किं त्वं शिक्षयसि द्यूतं देविष्यामि त्वयेति माम् ॥ ४२ ॥

अभिधायेतरः क्रोधाद् व्यतिषज्य जितो मया ।
सभिकाय समर्प्याहं जितद्रव्यार्धमुत्थितः ॥ ४३ ॥

विमर्दकः सुहृन्मेऽभूद् यन्मूलं द्यूतमापतत् ।
ततो यथावदश्रौषमाढ्यलुब्धजनं पुरम् ॥ ४४ ॥

तस्करत्वेन लुप्त्वा तान् कृत्यवर्त्म प्रवर्तयन् ।
गाढे तमसि गूढात्मा लुब्धागारमचोरयम् ॥ ४५ ॥

निर्गत्य नृपमार्गे मां विलोक्य व्यथितां स्त्रियम् ।
दृष्ट्वा क्व यासि कासीति ब्रुवाणं भणति स्म सा ॥ ४६ ॥

आर्य ! कन्यास्मि पुर्यस्यां नाम्नाहं कुलपालिका ।
धनमित्राय पित्राहं जातमात्रा प्र(तिश्रुता ॥ ४७ ॥

अर्थिसा)त्कृतसर्वस्वं तमनादृत्य दुर्विधम् ।
अद्यार्थपतये नाम प्रदित्सति पिता तु माम् ॥ ४८ ॥

तदमङ्गलमप्राप्य श्वो भावीति निशि (स्वयम् ।
यामि प्रियतमागारम)थैनां दययान्वयाम् ॥ ४९ ॥

ततोऽहं रक्षिसंपाते सर्पदष्ट इवापतम् ।
सा कन्या मन्नियोगान्मे भार्या भूत्वाश्रुमुख्यभूत् ॥ ५० ॥

मुद्रादिभिरुपक्रम्य काल........................ ।
............प्रायां प्रोत्थायाहं सहानया ॥ ५१ ॥

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC

BY

MM. PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

SECOND EDITION

will be ready shortly.

Advance Orders may be registered.

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA

LAKSHMANA SURI'S WORKS

		RS.	A.	P.
1.	Bhagavatpādābhyudayam (mahākāvya) ...	1	0	0
2.	Ghoṣayātrā or Yudhiṣṭhirānṛśaṁsyam (drama) ...	0	6	0
3.	Nalopākhyāna-saṅgraha ...	0	5	0
4.	Gurustavamālā ...	0	4	0

AVAILABLE WITH

THE SECRETARIES

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

SANSKRIT COLLEGE

MYLAPORE, MADRAS—4

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

		Rs. A. P.
1.	**Vibhramaviveka** of Maṇḍana Miśra—edited by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar ..	0 12 0
2.	**Vinavasavadatta** (an old Sanskrit drama) edited by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ..	0 8 0
3.	**Tolkappiyam** with an English translation by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., Ph.D ..	1 0 0
4.	**Tolkappiyam** Do. Do. Vol. II, Part 1 ..	2 0 0
5.	**History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil** by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ..	6 0 0
6.	**Dhvanyaloka & Locana** of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta with Kaumudī by Uttuṅgodaya and Upalocana edited by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sri T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Dr. T. R. Chintamani. Uddyota I ..	8 0 0
7.	**The Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume.**	3 0 0
8.	**Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit** by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri ..	2 0 0
9.	**Compromises in the History of Vedanta** by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri ..	1 4 0
10.	**The Primer of Indian Logic** by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswamy Sastri (2nd Edn. in Press). ..	10 0 0
11.	**Sankara Bhagavatpada** by Prof. P. Sankaranarayana ..	0 4 0
12.	**Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume** ..	2 0 0
13.	**Tolkappiyam-Porul-Atikaram-Tamil Poetics-Part I Akattinai and Purattinai** by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ..	2 0 0
14.	**Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English** by D. S. Sarma ..	1 0 0
15.	**The Journal of Oriental Research.** Annual Subscription ..	8 0 0

Copies can be had of: **The Secretaries,**

The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute,

Mylapore, MADRAS.

734

734
1.52

Quarterly Vol. XIX. Part I

THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH MADRAS

(Founded by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.)

OFFICE OF THE ...
7 MAR 1952
MADRAS

September 1949

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MYLAPORE
MADRAS

1951

Annual Subs., Inland, Rs. 8. Foreign, 14 Shillings.

Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive

CONTENTS

VOL. XIX] Sept. 1949 [PART I

PAGES

The Identification of two interesting Sculptures from Orissa—T. N. Ramachandran ... 1—13

Itinerary of an early sixteenth century Pilgrim from Assam in Northern and Southern India—Maheswar Neog ... 14—26

Prācīna-Padyāvalī of Divākara, son of Mahādeva—1685 A. D.—K. Venkateswara Sarma ... 27—38

Śrīparṇikā—B. Ch. Chhabra ... 39—41

Śālivāhna and the Śaka era—D. C. Sircar ... 42—43

The Lakṣaṇamālā of Śivāditya—S. Subrahmanya Sastri ... 44—52

Saṁskṛt and Prākṛt Prosody—V. Sitaramiah ... 53—65

XVI All-India Oriental Conference—V. Raghavan ... 66—73

Obituary:

Shrimant Bhavanrao Shrinivasarao *alias* Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi (R. N. D.); P. S. Visvanatha Aiyar; Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari (V. R.). ... 74—79

Book Reviews:

Oriental and African Studies presented to L. D. Barnett—V. Raghavan; *New Periodicals*—V. Raghavan; *Siddha-Bhāratī*—K. V. Sarma; *Ulloor Commemoration Volume*—K. V. Sarma; *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*—R. Bhaskaran; *Paryāyaratnamālā and Paryāyamuktāvalī*—K. V. Sarma; *Khandagiri-Udayagiri Caves*—V. Raghavan; *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtravṛtti*—S. Subrahmanya Sastri; *Sanskrit Literature*—Manjeri S. Isvaran; *Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi*—M. S. Sarma ... 80—100

Supplements:

Tolkāppiyam: Poruḷ—Kaṟpiyal—
Ed. P. S Subrahmanya Sastri ... 99—106

Avantisundarīkathāsāra—
Ed. G. Harihara Sastri ... 89—96

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
27 MAR 1952
MADRAS

Plate 1. *Kumāra-Sambhava*, from Bhuvanesvar, Orissa, Early Sixth Century A.D.

युगान्तकालाग्निमिवाविषह्यं परिच्युतं मन्मथरङ्गभङ्गात् ।
रतान्तरेतः स हिरण्यरेतस्यथोर्ध्वरेतास्तदमोघमाधात् ॥ *KS*, IX, 14.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF TWO INTERESTING SCULPTURES FROM ORISSA

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.

The Provincial Museum of Orissa now located in the Capital area of Bhuvaneswar has got a rich collection of sculptures of untold importance for the study of Indian Art and iconography. The value of the collection (both quantitative and qualitative) is to a large measure due to the untiring efforts of the Superintendent and Curator of the Museum. The latter, Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, in particular, has recently augmented the collection by his enthusiasm in collecting.

KUMĀRA-SAMBHAVA

(PLATE 1)

Two sculptures which form the subject-matter of this paper were explained to me by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi as finds from Bhuvaneswar and Athgarh sub-division, Orissa, respectively. The first was discovered by Panigrahi in 1949-50 from a field near the Rāmeśvara temple, midway between the railway station and the Lingarāja temple. It is the left end of a broken frieze, of sand stone, showing in a sunk panel, four figures and at the extreme left end a projecting fillet bearing the design of double doors (shut) with rosette-borders. The counter-sunk panel, or to speak correctly what remains of it, shows from the right a woman and a man on a cot (two of its legs and a side-board can be made out), the woman reclining and the man sitting. Only the lower part of the woman can be made out in the sculpture, the rest being broken and missing. She is lying on the cot, with the man seated in front of her, thereby hiding her thighs from view. Still her skirted legs can be made out in a row behind the man, also her girdled waist and her left hand which is resting on her abdomen or the region between the *nābhi* and the mount of Venus. The left hand which shows an armlet and wristlet, is all that remains of her upper part, the sculpture having been broken beyond and the broken part missing. The waist girdle is in two courses of round beads. The man is seated in front of her on the cot with his right leg laid vertical and the left leg laid flat on the cot as in squatting. A *jaṭāmukuṭa* arranged as in Buddha and Lakulīśa figures of Gupta type,

patra-kuṇḍalas in the ears, a necklet of a single course of beads as in Gupta type, wristlets (plain) in the hands, the right hand of webbed fingers (*jālāṅguli*) indicating *abhaya*, the left resting on the left lap, and a *yajñopavīta* of two strands are some of the features worth noticing as associated with him. But the most important part of the man is his *Ūrdhva meḍhra* from out of which is an upward and continuous flow of *tejas*. This flow or discharge is being received on the left by another man who, though similar to the man on the cot, has a *prabhā-maṇḍala* of flames of fire behind him, is without *patra-kuṇḍalas* and is actually kneeling beside the former with both his hands arranged like a cup into which the discharge of the former flows. Behind, or to speak correctly, by the left side of the kneeling figure with the *prabhā-maṇḍala* of flames of fire, is seated another figure of a man similar to the former except that the sitting pose is as in the figure with *Ūrdhva meḍhra*, and that the right hand carries a rosary of single course of beads (*akshamālā*) and the left hand a spouted water-pot (*kuṇḍikā* or *kamaṇḍalu*). A *yajñopavīta* of two strands and *prabhā-maṇḍala* formed by flames of fire are prominently associated with this figure. A full-blown lotus is shown on the upper part of the frieze above the seated figure with the *Ūrdhva-meḍhra*.

I was surprised to hear several fantastic interpretations of the scene represented here. Luckily it has not been published so far and hence I hasten to record here its correct identification. The scene (plate 1) relates to the events that preceded the birth of Kumāra or Kārtikeya or Subrahmaṇya, the son of *Śiva* and *Umā*, who did not come out of the womb of *Umā*, and yet was son of Śiva and Umā, giving to his sire by his association the name *Somāskanda*. Of the various accounts of the birth of Kumāra recorded in the two Epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, in the *Purāṇas* including *Skanda-Purāṇa*, in the *Āgamas* and in Kālidāsa's 'Kumāra-Sambhava', the accounts given in the "Kumāra-Sambhava" of Kālidāsa and in the 36th and 37th chapters (*Sargas*) of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa (particularly the latter) are the most suitable here to explain satisfactorily the subject of the sculpture under description. For a better understanding of the subject the Rāmāyaṇa version is recorded here briefly.

After marrying Umā, the daughter of Himavān, Śiva spent a thousand years (in the reckoning of the Devas) sport-

ing and indulging in sexual love (*maithuna*) with her,[1] but no issue was born, The Devas including Brahmā were alarmed at the delay, more so as the issue-to-come out of Śiva's seed would naturally be of unbearable and extraordinary character and cannot therefore be borne by the worlds. They entreated him (Śiva) to practise with Umā "Brāhma-tapas" or austerity.[2] Though Śiva agreed, he wanted to know from them where he should discharge the seed that was already surging, what would become of the discharged seed and who would receive or bear it. The Devas desired him to let it on the earth and that Agni will enter it or receive the seed, helped by *Vāyu*.[3] The implication was that the seed should not be let into Umā's womb, though Umā was longing for maternity. And Śiva denied her this longing, bound as he was by his promise to the Devas. And Agni, commissioned by Brahmā for the task, was waiting for the grand occasion. As soon as the seed began to flow from the *Ūrdhva-meḍhra* of Śiva, Agni sprang into position and received the whole discharge without allowing a drop to spill and thereby entered it. Denied of her privilege and pleasure to become a mother, Umā cursed the Devas that their wives should become barren. Agni who entered Śiva's seed, produced a white mountain, where Kumāra or Kārtikeya was born and came to be called "Agni-sambhava".[4] The story is narrated in two places in the Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, in *sarga* 36, verses 6-23 and in *sarga* 37, verses 5-12.

The same subject caught the fancy of the great poet Kālidāsa who composed his immortal *Kumāra-sambhava* and described the event with characteristic poetic exaltation and imagination, adhering, however, to the Rāmāyaṇa version given above. Verse 14 in the 9th *sarga* of the *Kumāra-sambhava* is an unparalleled epitomisation of the story, bidding well to become the title as it were of the sculpture under description. The verse is quoted here for *sahṛidayānanda*:—

"yugāntakālāgnimivāviṣahyaṁ
parichyutam manmatharaṅgabhaṅgāt |
ratāntaretaḥ sa hiraṇyareta-
syathordhvaretāstadamoghamādhāt || "

1. *Bālakāṇḍa*, 36th *Sarga*, v. 5-6.
2. *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 36, v. 10.
3. *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 36, vv. 14-17.
4. *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 36, v. 18-19 - "yatra jāto mahātejāḥ Kārtikeyo'gnisambhavaḥ".

Let us now examine the sculpture in the light of the details narrated above. Umā (head and upper torso broken) is lying with Śiva sitting in front against her thigh. The cot, and the attitude of both Umā and Śiva suggest their love-making (*maithuna*). Though seated by her side, Śiva is turning away from her and letting out the seed from his *Ūrdhva-meḍhra* in a surging and continuous flow, which is being received by Agni, who by pre-arrangement is sitting awaiting the occasion and the opportunity. Brahmā's commission to Agni was that when Śiva's seed would flow out to be received by the earth, he should spring up into position from his watch-post and helped by his friend Vāyu enter into it, or in other words receive it ably and completely without a drop spilling out. And in this sculpture Agni does his part very well. To emphasise the dramatic effect of the event and conforming to an early and well known practice in Indian Sculpture[1] he is shown on the left twice. He is shown first as in waiting at the extreme left end of the panel. His iconography is so faithful to the *Dhyānas* that his identification as Agni is easy even to a layman. An aureole of flames of fire (*prabhā-maṇḍala*) behind him, an *akshamālā* in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* of the Gupta type,[2] in his left hand and two-stranded *yajñopavīta* are associated with him answering well the *lakshaṇa* of Agni.[3] His head-dress is a

1. *Cf.* Goli, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the "Subjugation of Nalagiri"; T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist sculptures from a stūpa near Goli village, Guntur District*, p. 26, plate III-H.

2. *Cf. Deogarh* Nara-Nārāyaṇa sculpture of the first half of 6th century A.D. Smith, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pl. 48; and *Bāgh* in Coomaraswamy and Kershaw, *A Chinese Buddhist water-vessel and its Indian prototype*, figs. 13, 17, 21, 22 and 23.

3. Text associated with *Śilparatna*:

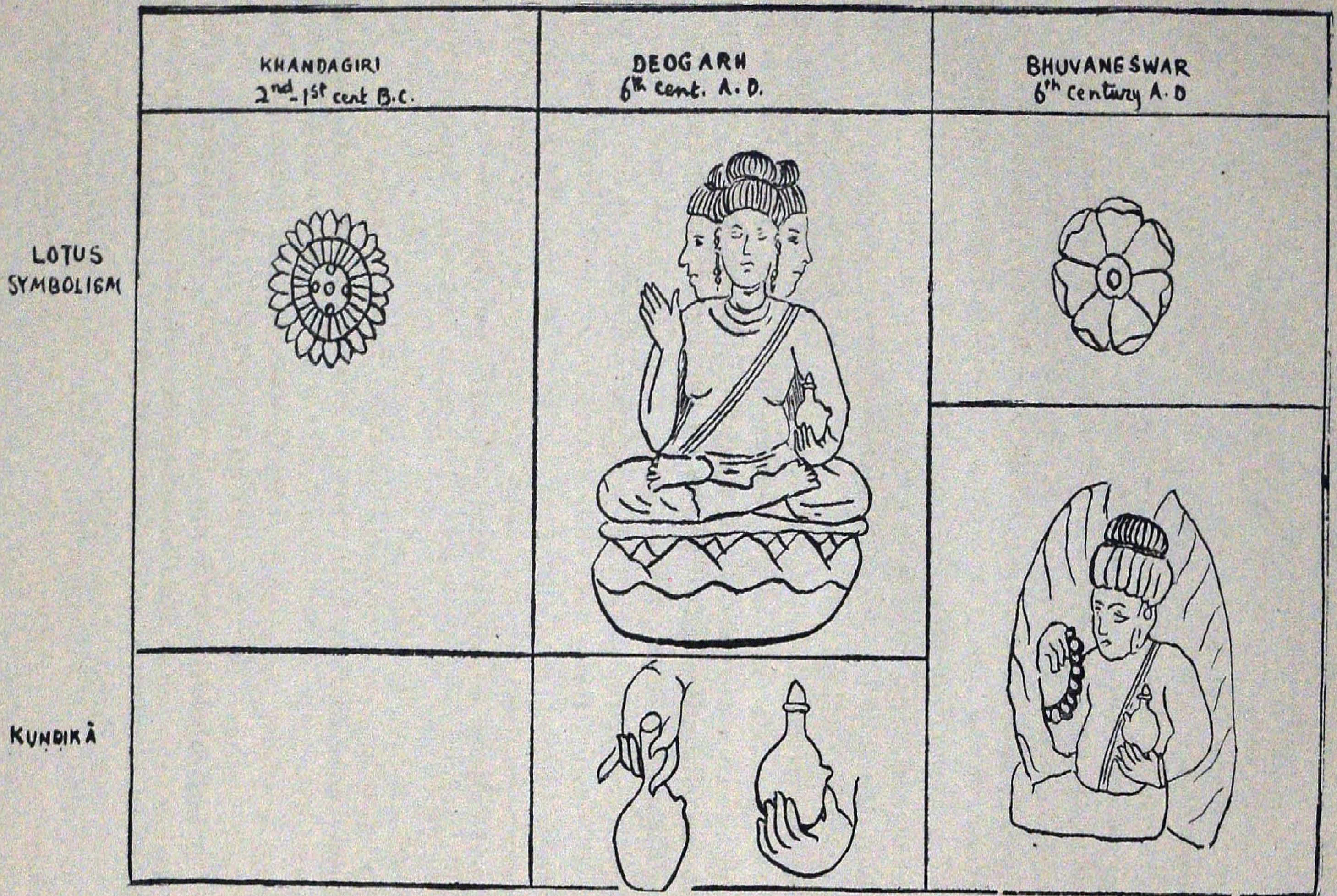
. . . . Vahneḥ svarūpam vakshyāmi. . . .
ardhachandrāsanagataṁ. . .
yuktaṁ yajñopavītena laṁbakūrchena śobhitam ||
. . . . bhujadvayasamanvitaṁ
dakshiṇe chākshasūtram syāt kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ ||
. . . . . .
jvālābhis-saptaśīrsheṇa śobhamāno mahādyutiḥ ||

Rūpamaṇḍana—

varadaḥ śaktihastas-cha samṛiṇāla kamaṇḍaluḥ |
jvālāpuñjanibho devo mēshārūḍho hutāśanaḥ ||

Pūrvakāraṇāgama—14th *paṭala*,

akshamālā cha śaktis-cha dakshiṇe'dakshiṇe'pi cha |
jvālāmālākulaṁ. . . .



Sketch 1. Indian Art and Symbolism—the lotus and the *Kuṇḍikā*.

jaṭāmukuṭa of the Gupta type as in Deogarh[1] and the way he is holding the *kamaṇḍalu* is as in the figure of Brahmā also from Deogarh.[2] Agni is shown next as having moved to the right, close to Śiva and receiving in a kneeling attitude the flowing seed of Śiva in his hands arranged like a cup. The *akshamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* are not shown now as his hands are engaged in receiving Śiva's seed carefully so that not a drop can spill out. The aureole of flames is, however, shown behind him so that his identity cannot be mistaken. The upward flow of the discharged *retas* of Śiva who is here *ūrdhvaretas*, and its timely and opportune reception by *Hiraṇyaretas* or Agni has acquired in the hand of the great poet Kālidāsa a pun and alliteration to which he gives full vent in the verse quoted above.[3]

The left hand of Umā (which alone remains) touches her abdomen or her *nābhi-deśa* indicating or conveying as it were the heart's desire of Umā to have the *retas* of her Lord in her womb and the pleasure of maternity, which as we saw she was denied by a ruse of the Devas to which her Lord had unfortunately agreed. She was therefore an unwilling spectator to the event for which she cursed the wives of the Devas with barrenness.

A solitary full-blown lotus can be made out above Śiva and between him and the kneeling Agni. According to the law of "container for the contained" the lotus stands for Brahmā whose seat is the lotus. In the whole story of "Kumāra-sambhava" he takes the lead and is present throughout as the head of the Devas. Here the lotus is located right in the centre of the scene as though thereby suggesting that Brahmā has his right place. The same is the case in the Gupta relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa from Deogarh.[4] There, Brahmā seated on a full-blown lotus occupies his right place between his own *Mānasika-putras, viz.*, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Owing to plenty of space, Brahmā and his *āsana* (the lotus) are both shown in the Deogarh relief. But here, only the lotus (full-blown) and in front view, is shown as though crammed into the available space. Obviously there was no space here for both the container and the contained. So the

---

1. Smith, *Ibid*, Plate 48; T. N. Ramachandran, *Fresh light on the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa* [*I. H. Q.* Calcutta, Vol. XXVII, No. 3. pp. 191-6.]
2. *Ibid*, Plate 48.
3. See *above* page 3—*Kumārasambhava*, *sarga* 9, v. 14.
4. Smith, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate 48.

latter (lotus) was put in to stand for the contained, *viz.*, Brahmā, according to the law of "symbolism" in early plastic art.

The occurrence of the lotus-*motif* here and its comparison with the Brahmā figure in Deogarh in the manner we have described above, afford clues to the dating of the sculpture. This coupled with other characteristics of the Gupta type present here and in Deogarh, *viz.*, similar *jaṭāmukuṭas* of Agni and Śiva, and Brahmā and Nara and Nārāyaṇa, similar *kuṇḍikā* or *kamaṇḍalu* that Agni here and Brahmā, and Nārāyaṇa in Deogarh have, and the webbed fingers (*jālāṅguli*) of Śiva here and Nārāyaṇa in Deogarh and rosette designs on the shut double-door here and on the jamb of the Deogarh relief help us to assign the relief of "Kumāra-sambhava" to the first half of the sixth century A. D., the date to which the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa has been assigned.[1] The relief under description resembles also other known and popular Gupta sculptures such as Brahmā from Mathurā (I. M. No. 3730)[2] of the 6th century A.D., of Śiva and Arjuna in "Arjuna's penance" from Chandimau of the 5th century A. D. (I. M. No. 4617) in regard to *jaṭāmukuṭa* and two-stranded *yajñopavīta*, of Sārnāth Buddha figures of the 5th century A.D. in regard to webbed fingers (*jālāṅguli*), of a *mithuna* from Banaras (5th century A.D.) and Hara-Gaurī (inscribed) from Kosam (5th century A.D.), both of the Indian Museum in regard to a single and close necklet of beads, and again of the Hara-Gaurī figure from Kosam and the Chandimau pillar representing Arjuna's penance (both 5th century A.D.) in regard to the *ūrdhva-meḍhra* pose of Śiva. Thus the *ensemble* of evidence warrants the beginning of the 6th century A. D. as the date of the *Kumārasambhava* relief from Bhuvaneswar.

ASTĪKA

(PLATE 2)

The second sculpture, whose exact location of find is not traceable in the records of the Orissa Provincial Museum, is according to Sri K. C. Panigrahi, from somewhere in the Athgarh Sub-division near Cuttack. Sri Panigrahi also informed me that such images are common in Orissa and cited in proof one such image now loosely kept in the *jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple and another under a tree in front of

1. Smith, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plates 78-80.
2. I. M. = Indian Museum, Calcutta.

a Gaṇeśa temple at the foot of the Dhauli hill, 3 miles south of the Liṅgarāja temple. The one in the Liṅgarāja temple is worshipped as the ideal wife Sāvitrī and her husband Satyavān, particularly on the day of Sāvitrī-Amāvāsyā. Sri Panigrahi also told me, as from Sri S. K. Saraswati, of the following legend popular in Bengal[1] but unheard of in Orissa, associated with such images:—

"Chānd (Chandra), a merchant-prince of Bengal and a staunch Śaivite, refused to pay homage to *Manasā*, the goddess of snakes. The goddess took her revenge on him by causing the death of six sons of his by snake-bite. The seventh and the last son was Lakṣmīdhar who had married a beautiful girl called Behula. To protect Lakṣmīdhar from possible snake-bite, King Chānd had built a house of stone in which the boy was spending his honeymoon with Behula. But Manasā had contrived to keep a hole in one of the walls, through which a snake entered at her bidding, and bit Lakṣmīdhar to death. But through the devotion of his wife Behula (*pātivratya*) he was restored to life."

The theme of all the poems and ballads sung in Bengal in honour of the Snake-goddess Manasā centres round Chandra's early opposition to the worship of Śiva, though his women had accepted it, how he was obdurate and how he eventually became an unwilling convert after a stiff contest. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali,[2] the Manasā cult obtained a footing in Bengal in the 10th-11th century A.D., having perhaps come from South India, that a very large number of stone images of Manasā of the 10th-12th century have been found throughout Bengal, testifying to the popularity of the Manasā cult during the period, and that the merchant-prince Chānd (Chandra) of the legend, was perhaps a member of the family of the Chandra Kings of East Bengal, may be Śrī Chandra Deva himself, the most powerful prince of the family who ruled between 975-1000 A.D.

A brief description of the sculpture (plate 2) will help proper identification. A woman is seated on a *padmāsana* with her right leg pendant and a man seated on her lap, whom she

---

1. The legend is very popular in Bengal as CHAND SAUDAGAR story and has also appeared in the film.

2. "Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in Dacca Museum" pp. 224-5.

is holding as a mother would her child, by her left hand going round his neck and by her right hand drawing his thigh nearer to her. The woman's head is broken and missing. What remains shows her with full and prominent bosom, necklaces, *hāra*-like *yajñopavīta* in 3 strands, diaphanous *uttarīya* arranged *yajñopavīta*-wise and indicated by many lines as in the Nālanda bronzes of the 8th-9th century A.D., *aṅgadas*, a number of *valayas* on the wrists, *nūpuras* on the legs, one of which (the right) has a foot-rest. The lotus-*āsana* is shown with its stem as in a majority of mediaeval sculptures of the Eastern School of Sculpture, to which Nālanda, Bengal and Orissa belonged. The man on the lap of the lady is adorned with a wealth of jewels, such as *nūpura* in the only leg (the left) exposed, waist-girdle with tassels and beads (*kiṅkiṇi*), necklaces, long and flat *yajñopavīta*, wristlets, armlets, and *patra-kuṇḍalas*. His hair is arranged in an elegant *keśa-bandha* marked by bead courses and a jewel-clasp in front. He has well-trimmed and manicured whiskers and beard, both thin and young, looking more like decoration than growth. His left hand is stretched down indicating *varada*, while his right hand is raised over his head against the leaves of perhaps a *Snuhi* branch (*Euphorbia Antiquorum*; Bengali-*Sij*: In Bengal this leaf is called *Phaṇi-Manasā*). Below the *padmāsana* are shown a rearing or springing snake on the left and a woman-worshipper on the right, who kneels, facing the snake, with a basket of fruits and flowers in front and with her hands folded in *añjali* (worship). The hanging right leg of the goddess is shown between the kneeling woman and the serpent. The sculptural grouping of this part is as in early Pāla sculpture, the idea being that the worshipper is seeking from the deity or deities worshipped protection from the snake or snake-bite.

The upper part of the sculpture including the head of the woman is unfortunately missing. Hence we cannot determine if there were snake-hoods shown and the *Snuhi* tree present. A leaf or two, however, is left on the left above the man's head suggesting that the *Snuhi* tree was perhaps meant.

The existing details are sufficient to enable us to think of Manasā, or rather the lady Jaratkāru, the sister of the Nāga Vāsuki, wife of a Brahmin named Jaratkāru and mother of Astīka, who was the hope and the saviour of the snakes, as the deity meant in the sculpture. We should forget Manasā and pursue the *Jaratkāru-Astīka* identification in the present case

Plate 2. *Astīka* from Orissa.
9th Century A.D.

जरत्कारोर्जरत्कार्वां समुत्पन्नो महायशाः ।
अस्तीकस्सत्यसन्धो मां पन्नगेभ्योऽभिरक्षतु ॥
अपसर्प सर्प भद्रं ते दूरं गच्छ महायशाः ।
जनमेजयस्य यज्ञान्ते अस्तीकवचनं स्मरन् ॥ *MBh.*

as the latter is more popular in South India including Orissa than in Bengal. Besides, Manasā, though generally identified with Jaratkāru in Bengal, finds no place in the Mahābhārata or the *dhyānas* of South India. There is no indication in the Mahābhārata of the deification of Jaratkāru, as a snake-goddess, *Nāga-mātā* or mistress over the snakes, nor is she (Jaratkāru) credited with supreme knowledge (*mahājñāna*) and the power of counter-acting poison, the two important attributes of Manasā. Also, Kadru, and not Manasā was meant by the term "Nāga-mātā" in the Mahābhārata. As pointed out above, the Manasā cult as such obtained a footing in Bengal about the 10th century A. D. Our sculpture hails however from Athgarh in Orissa and appears on grounds of style to date from the 9th century A.D. and to be related to the early Eastern School of Sculpture that produced the famous Nālandā and Kurkihār images. The diaphanous *uttarīya* of Jaratkāru arranged *yajñopavīta*-wise is worth mentioning in this context.

The legend of "Chānd and Lakshmīdhara and Behula" referred to at the beginning is of no consequence as the sculpture in question is votive in purpose, meant for worship as the woman (kneeling) clearly indicates. The man is being held by the woman on her lap, as a mother would her son. All volition and effort to hold is on the woman's side, while the man is the least concerned. He has his right hand raised above and left hand stretched down for *varada* as a boon-conferring deity would. If he were the lover Lakshmīdhara, his position should be different—he will have his wife appropriately on his knee or lap instead of sitting on his wife's as the sculpture shows, and would encircle her with one of his hands. The sculpture shows all care on the part of the woman to hold the man on her lap with a *motherly* rather than erotic tenderness. The man has young whiskers and stroke of beard; yet the jewels he wears are *nūpuras*, waist-girdle of *kiṅkiṇis*, *patra-kuṇḍalas* and clasp on *keśa-bandha*, clearly the results of a fond mother out to enjoy the sight of her decorated son. To a fond mother a grown-up son is yet a child! The "Chānd-Lakshmīdhar-Behula" legend need not engage our attention any more, as the event was momentary, the hero was not meant to be deified, much less worshipped. Our sculpture is an image, votive in form and benedictory in purpose. The kneeling worshipper stands for *humanity* seeking protection from snake-

bites. This in short is the *intent* of the image which acquires special importance when its *content* is unfolded in the light of the *dhyāna* of *Jaratkāru* and *Astīka.*

The snake, the worshipper, the child's jewellery and the pose of the man preclude the possibility of the *Sāvitrī-Satyavān*-identification.

Having cleared the probabilites, or (to speak correctly) improbabilities, let us examine the *dhyāna* of Astīka and Jaratkāru on the lines of relevant verses in the Mahābhārata, which is current in South India and which every South Indian Brāhmaṇa recites as daily prayer during his *Sandhyā-vandana:*

> Jaratkāror Jaratkārvāṁ samutpanno mahāyaśāḥ |
> Astīkas satyasandho māṁ pannagebhyo abhirakṣatu ||
> Apasarpa sarpa bhadraṁ te dūram gaccha mahāyaśaḥ |
> Janamejayasya yajñānte Astīkavacanam smaran ||

"The renowned Astīka, the son of (the lady) Jaratkāru, born of Jaratkāru, who never allowed his promise to go in vain, I recall him to my mind—for protection from snakes.

"O blessed snake, of fame (= of virulent poison)—go away. Remember the words (of assurance) of Astīka spoken at the end of the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya."

The story of Astīka as recorded in the *Ādi Parvan* of the Mahābhārata (*adhyāyas* 13-58) is as follows:—

Kadru and Vinatā were the wives of the patriarch Kaśyapa. The snakes (Nāgas) were Kadru's children, while Aruṇa, Sūrya's charioteer and Garuḍa were Vinatā's. Kadru cursed her children (the snakes), for an act of disobedience, with destruction by fire at the *sarpa-yāga* of King Janamejaya. Elāpatra, one of the chief Nāgas, had a vision which he duly imparted to all the Nāgas, in which Vāsuki's sister, Jaratkāru, would marry a Brāhmaṇa of the same name, and a son born of their union called Astīka would by virtue of merit acquired by innocence and intelligence save the Nāgas from their threatened annihilation. The Nāga-chief Vāsuki brought up his sister with extreme care and affection. Knowing her mission in life and her priceless importance for their own safety, Vāsuki and the Nāgas were guarding her, anxiously awaiting sage Jaratkāru.

Jaratkāru was a nomadic Brāhmaṇa (*yāyāvara*) leading a celibate life. A vision of his *pitṛs* not only failing to go to heaven but actually about to fall into the hell of *put* because of his own childless state, made him think of marriage, but on conditions such as that the girl should also bear the name Jaratkāru, should be offered to him unsolicited, he should not have to maintain her and lastly he should be at liberty to leave her on her first offence, reserving to himself the right to determine if it was an offence or not. Vāsuki, the brother of the lady Jaratkāru, fulfilling the conditions, the two Jaratkārus married and lived with Vāsuki. All went well, and to the happiness of Vāsuki and the Nāgas the lady Jaratkāru came to be with child, when a trifling event such as the wife waking up her husband from an untimely nap, for performing his *sandhyā*, enraged Jaratkāru, who forthwith left her, assuring her, however, that she was with child, the purpose that her brother and kinsmen sought in their union. Sage Astīka was born to the lady in time. He was the pride of the Nāgas. Though a boy, his asceticism became great;[1] he was gifted with many virtues and great intelligence.[2] He was a boy, yet he was grave[3] and intelligent. He was like the lord of the celestials,[4] Śūlapāṇi (Śiva). He grew up with great care in Vāsuki's palace to the infinite delight of the Nāgas and his mother, who having lost her husband concentrated all her affection on her son in compensation[5] and the boy entered adolescence under the sunshine of Jaratkāru's vigil and unrivalled motherly affection.

The time had come for Kadru's curse to take effect. King Parīkshit having died, being bitten by the Nāga Takshaka, his enraged son Janamejaya performed just for revenge a snake-sacrifice (*sarpa-yajña*), into the fire of which the snakes were falling one by one. Takshaka had taken shelter under Indra. When as a result of the sacrificial *mantras* he was dragged, even Indra could not save him. At the request of Vāsuki and the Nāgas, Jaratkāru implored her son Astīka (a child to her but a great, grave and intelligent saint in the eye of the world) to go to Janamejaya and save the Nāgas by stopping the *yajña*. Astīka did as bidden; he came to the *yajña* in time to save

---

1-5. Mahābhārata, *Adi*, *Astīka Parva* 5, 48th *Adhyāya*, vv. 19, 21 and 22.

Takshaka whom he prevented from falling into the fire just by uttering the word "Stay, Stop". His personality was so captivating and his appeal so irresistable that the *sadasyas* of the snake-sacrifice and its performer (*yajamāna*), King Janamejaya, granted him his request and the sacrifice was stopped forthwith. There was great rejoicing when Astīka returned to his mother and the Nāgas and a promise was taken on the occasion that snakes should refrain from biting anyone who uttered the name of Astīka and the *dhyānas* quoted above.[1]

In the light of the details of the story of Astīka given above, we can readily recognise the sculpture (Pl. 2) as the creation of the *dhyāna*-verses current in the daily *sandhyā-vandana* of every South Indian Brāhmaṇa. The lady Jaratkāru sits on a *padmāsana* and holds on her lap with motherly affection her son Astīka (albeit his adolescence) whom she has decked with jewels befitting a child or boy. Is he not her child?[2] Astīka sits on his mother's lap with evident composure, the result of his affection for his mother and innocence, the latter virtue making him a saint even in the teens. His left hand indicates *varada* to the worshipper and his right hand is raised above against a *snuhi* branch (Bengali *Sij*). The kneeling woman below on the right, with a tray of flowers in front, evidently repeats the *dhyānas* and offers her worship to Astīka for protection from the springing snakes shown in front of her and on the left. The sculpture recalls by its style of workmanship the best period of Bihar Sculpture such as Nālandā and Kurkihār produced in the 9th century A.D. The pearl-like *hāra*, diaphanous and *yajñopavīta*-wise *uttarīya* in wavy lines, the armlet and the clasp in the necklet of Jaratkāru, the *padmāsana* which is a full-blown double-*padma* standing on its stem and the disposition of the worshipper and the snake on either side of it, are a few characteristic decorative and iconographic details that help us to class our sculpture with

---

1. See above page 10; Mahābhārata, *Ādi*, *Astīka Parva* 5, *Adhyāya* 58, vv. 20, 24-26.

2. There is a proverb in Tamil which translated runs as, "Even the Delhi Bahadur Shah (Badshah) is to his mother a child".

Nālandā[1] and Kurkihār[2] in Bihar, and nearer home with Ratnagiri,[3] Chauduar[4] and Jājpūr[5] in Orissa, and assign to it a similar date, *viz.*, 9th century A.D.

BIHAR.

1. Nālandā (1) Mañjuśrī-9434 (Indian Museum, Calcutta).
2. Kurkihār: (2) Tārā, K. R. 16 (Indian Museum, Calcutta).
   (3) Tārā (Indian Museum No. 5862).
   (4) Jaṁbhala, K. R. 1 (Indian Museum).
   (5) Mārīchī (Indian Museum No. 3827).
   (6) Tārā (Indian Museum No. 308).
   (7) Maitreya (Indian Museum No. 3790).
   (8) Avalokiteśvara (Indian Museum No. 4473).

ORISSA.

3. Ratnagiri: (9) Avalokiteśvara (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate IV, fig. 4).
4. Chauduar: (10) Avalokiteśvara (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate VIII, fig. 2).
   (11) Tārā (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate VII, fig 4).
   (12) Prajñāpāramitā (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate VIII, fig. 3).
5. Jājpūr: (13) Vārāhī (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate 1, fig. 1).

ITINERARY OF AN EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY PILGRIM FROM ASSAM IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

BY

MAHESWAR NEOG, M.A.

Lecturer in Assamese, Post-Graduate Department, Gauhati University.

Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1568 A.D.), a Kāyastha by caste, was responsible for the spread of the Bhakti cult in the province of Assam, at that time divided into Kāmarūpa ruled over by the Koc kings (called the Kuvācas in the *Yoginī Tantra*) and Asama under the administration of the Āhoms (Saumāras according to the same authority). The tenets of Assam Vaiṣṇavism were based mainly on the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Padma Purāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, and according to some of the biographers of Śaṅkaradeva on the Vaiṣṇava *Sātvata Tantra* also. He stood square against the practices of Tantricism, of which Assam was then a veritable stronghold, and especially against blood sacrifices associated with all forms of Tantricism. The saint Śaṅkaradeva and his apostles Mādhavadeva (also a Kāyastha), Ananta Kandali and Rāma Sarasvatī (Brāhmaṇas) produced a vast mass of literature in the Assamese language—songs, verse-narratives, dramas, and so on, wherein they expounded the teachings of the cult, officially called *ekaśaraṇa nāmadharma* (Dr. B. Kakati: *Sankara Deva*, G. A. Natesan & Co., 1921; M. Neog: "The Bhakti Cycle of Assamese Lyrics", *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. I). Organization of numerous *satras* or monasteries, which might be likened to Buddhist *vihāras*, and *nāmghars*, village chapels, lit. 'houses for celebrating the name of God', followed and carried the message of *bhakti* far and wide into the country. These are still living institutions with extensive influence over Assam's countryside.

Śaṅkaradeva went on pilgrimage to different holy places outside Assam on two occasions—in the year 1481 A.D. at the age of thirty-two and again in about 1546 at the very ripe old age of about ninety-seven (M. Neog, *Śrī-Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva*, 1948, §§. 16-23, 56-60). On the second occasion he did not move beyond Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra, where he stayed for

three fortnights only. In his earlier sojourn however he did not turn home for twelve long years. On both occasions his main centre of interest was Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra, where most possibly he met all sorts of religious people from Northern and Southern India and came in contact with the currents and cross-currents of the social upheaval that was at that time boiling in the veins of India. His travels in the various centres of learning and of religious importance in Northern and Southern India had not a little to do with the part he played in bringing about a religious, social and cultural reformation in the country. We have several old biographies of the saint and his associates (*gurucarits*) in verse as well as in prose, which provide a great mass of information about Śaṅkaradeva and his times. The prose biographies are generally the more detailed. All these however do not tell us what were the particular spots of interest Śaṅkaradeva visited in the various places and what people of what particular schools of belief he held discourses with, in order to give us the clue to the different shades of his religious ideology and practices.

Śaṅkaradeva started with seventeen persons in his company in 1481 from his native place Bardowā in the modern district of Nowgong, Assam. On his way he bathed in the rivers Punarbhavā and Karatoyā and reached the banks of the Ganges in two months and twenty-one days from the start. He stayed on the Ganges for nine days. It took him ten days from there to arrive at Gayā, where he camped on the side of the river Phalgu for three days. He returned in another ten days' time to the Ganges and from there took three weeks to reach Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra, where he stayed for four or five months and talked of the greatness of god Jagannātha from the *Brahma Purāṇa* to the temple priests. According to one biographer, Rāmānanda Dvija, Śaṅkaradeva met Caitanyadeva (1485-1533) here; but the statement is apparently baseless. He then started out to Vṛndāvana and according to one authority, after travelling for five fortnights came across and initiated into his cult Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmīs. Other biographers hold that these two Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana became Śaṅkara's disciples at Vṛndāvana on the side of the Kāliya lake. It is added in a prose *carit* from Bardowā that before this they belonged to the school of Harivyāsa. But it is well-known that they were staunch followers and two

of the greatest exponents of Caitanyaism (Dr. S. K. De, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 1942, pp. 108ff). So it remains to be investigated if they had any affiliation to Assam Vaiṣṇavism before they were converted to the Caitanya cult in about 1513 (S. Basu, *Vidagdha-mādhava*, intro, pp. xxii ff. M. T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement*, 1925, pp. 45ff).

Śaṅkaradeva passed through Sītākuṇḍa, Uttaravāhinī Gaṅgā, Varāha-kṣetra, Puṣkariṇī-tīrtha, Mathurā (where he passed six months), and Dvārakā before he reached Vṛndāvana. From the different accounts it would appear that Rūpa and Sanātana's place was somewhere to the east of Sītākuṇḍa, because they and Rūpa's wife are said to have followed the Assam pilgrims up to that place.

There are a few other persons from Śaṅkara's native province who accepted him as their religious preceptor. In the *Kathā-gurucarit*, a prose biography of the saints, it is stated that one poet Gopīnātha, one *saṁnyāsinī* named Rādhā, Vṛndāvanadāsa of Vṛndāvana and a Kṣatriya named Ramākānta were initiated at Puṣkara-tīrtha, Gokula, Kāliya-hrada and Upa-Dvārakā, respectively. Sārvabhaumapati Bhaṭṭācārya, a contemporary and disciple of the saint, adds that another *saṁnyāsinī* Trijaṭā took refuge in the faith of Śaṅkaradeva at Vrajadhāma; that Viṣṇudatta, the son of a *pāṇḍā* of Jagannātha, also became his follower; and that there were altogether ten non-Assamese disciples of the saint. There are a few songs in Assamese ascribed popularly to Vṛndāvanadāsa, the famous Hindi poet of Vṛndāvana. When Śaṅkara started on the second pilgrimage, his intention was to reach as far as Vṛndāvana so as to be able to see Vṛndāvanadāsa in person.

The *Kathā-gurucarit* makes a long list of places visited by Śaṅkaradeva and his companions on this occasion after they had left Vṛndāvana, although the enumeration does not seem to be in the proper order.

Hastināpura, Kurukṣetra and Badarikāśrama;
the kingdoms of Nepāla, Niṣadha, Kaikeya, Kośala, Draviḍa, Pāñcāla and Śveta-dvīpa;
the sacred rivers Karmanāśā, Keśarī, Kāverī and Payasvinī;
Mārgakāśī, Bindukāśī, Kauśika-mahātīrtha, Mṛkuṇḍa-āśrama;

the rivers Puṣpabhadrā, Soṇāru, Kapilā, Gaṇḍakī;

Mathurā, Upa-Dvārakā, Rukmiṇī-nagara, Aṅgada-nagara, Candrāvatī-grāma, Rāmeśvara-Setu-bandha and Sītākuṇḍa, Subāhu;

Kauśika-yajñabhūmi, Bidiśa-nagara, Daṇḍaka-vana (Citrakūṭa);

the rivers Godāvarī and Gomatī;

Takṣaka-nagara, Pañcavaṭī-tīrtha, Pampā-sarovara;

Ṛśyamūha-parvata, Kiṣkindhā-nagara, Puṣkarā-vatī, Bharadvāja-kṣetra, Haridvāra-kṣetra and Jayadvāra;

the rivers Narmadā and Mahānandā.

Saṅkara at last came to Kaṭaka-nagara (Cuttack), Urichā (Uriṣā)-deśa with Oreṣā-purī, Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra. He visited the *pañca-tīrthas* of the *kṣetra* and halted there for a year, the twelfth year of his long journey. He visited Kapila-āśrama at Jāhnavī-mohanā, had a holy bath in the Kālindī (Yamunā) and again in the Punarbhavā and Karatoyā, and reached back home in 1493 when a quarter of one night had advanced.

The verse biographies, which are the nearest to Śaṅkara-deva in point of time, do not provide much detail of the travels and some of them do not even mention any place in Southern India. There is, however, a great degree of similarity between the cult of Śaṅkara and Rāmānujācārya's Śrī-vaiṣṇavism, which leads us to believe that Śaṅkara was greatly influenced by the latter exponent of Vaiṣṇavism (Dr. B. Kakati, *The Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā*, pp. 76ff). And it is not clear to us how these influences were imbibed by Śaṅkara.

Śaṅkaradeva went out on pilgrimage a second time in about 1546, this time from Barpetā in the modern Kāmrūp district in the company of one hundred and twenty disciples. But the saint's wife requested Mādhavadeva, his close associate and dearest disciple, not to take him as far as Vṛndāvana lest he would not return home. The pilgrims stayed at Āli-nagara (Alipurduar, a Railway station in north Bengal?) one night and for another night at Bhelā (in the modern district of Cooch Behar, where there is a *satra* established by Śaṅkaradeva himself with the aid of king Naranārāyaṇa).

According to the *Kathā-gurucarit*, the pilgrims met Caitanyadeva at Nadiyā-Gopīnātha (Nuddea). The biographer Rāmacaraṇa places the meeting at Caitanya's own village; Rāmacaraṇa's son Daityāri mentions it to have happened in Caitanya's *maṭha*; while according to Bhūṣaṇa Dvija and the prose *carit* from Bardowā they met at Jagannātha-kṣetra. But any such meeting does not seem to be possible on the simple ground that Caitanya had already died in 1533 (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Ādikhaṇḍa, pariccheda 13). The last-named biography also says that Rāmānanda of the South and Harivyāsa were also met by Śaṅkara, while the *Kathā-gurucarit* adds a few other celebrities of the time to the people assembled at the shrine of Jagannātha. This also is imaginary in so far as the consideration of time is set aside in making the statement. All the several biographies describe how Śaṅkara visited Kabīr's *maṭha* and met only his grand-daughter, Tarachi, Tarochi or Torachi; but while some of them suppose that Kabīr was alive at the time, the other accounts take him to have already died. Kabir actually died in the year 1518 A.D. (Rev. Dr. F. E. Keay, *Kabīr and His Followers*, 1931, pp. 27f; Ramkumar Verma, *Kabīr-padāvalī*, intro., pp. x-xii). There are a few songs ascribed to Kabīr. Śaṅkaradeva himself sings in his *Kīrtan-ghoṣā*:

> *ureṣa bārānasī thāwe thāwe* |
> *kabīra-gīta śiṣṭasāve gāwe* ||

'The learned sing the songs of of Kabīr in places like Ureṣā (Orissa) and Banaras.'

This possibly is a reference to the *dohās* of Kabīr, so very popular at that time. Before reaching the Ganges the pilgrims stayed at a place Bināigañj, apparently in Bengal, and from another place Nelāi-hāṭ turned south to Puruṣottama-kṣetra. They crossed the Ganges at Dolāmāri-ghāṭ, took a ceremonial bath in the river at Jiyāgañj, and crossed the Kātuwā Gaṅgā. On the way they touched upon Nābhigayā (where they had a *darśana* of Varāha Viṣṇu), and travelled for four days to reach the Mahānadī. They walked along the sea-shore for some time and stayed at a place Tulasī-grāma for a single night and reached Aṭhāra-nalā in the vicinity of the *kṣetra*.

After staying at Puruṣottama-kṣetra for some time the pilgrims started for their own place. On their way they met a *saṁnyāsī*, who described himself as Rūpa and Sanātana's

nephew. In some accounts the man was sent out by Rūpa and Sanātana to enquire of the progress of Śaṅkaradeva's religious activities; but according to others the Gosvāmīs were then long dead. Rāmacaraṇa says that the pilgrims visited the village of Bilvamaṅgala (some verses of whose Kṛṣṇa-*stotra* are utilised by Mādhavadeva in his dramas). The *Kathā-gurucarit* gives the names of a number of places through which Śaṅkaradeva and the other pilgrims passed. They reached Tulasīcarā the day after they had started, Cātigopālpur the next day and Cuttack a few days after. They crossed the Mahānandā and halted at Baitaraṇī Jāhādpur and then at Bāleśvar-bandar on the Buḍhā river. They then reached and stayed at Bardhamāna on the Dāmodara, Kamār-pukhuriyā, Nadiyā Gopīnātha, Śāntipur, Kātuwā, Gaṅgā-triveṇī-mukh, Kācimgañj, Mucoyābāj, Jaṅginpur on the Ganges and Bhagan-golā. They crossed the Padmā at Bhaktipur-ghāt, and halted at Pukhuriyāgañj. They bathed in the Jāhnavī (Ganges), stayed at Khājurpur, Cantāgañj, Silimpur, Mohanā Gaṅgā, Binājpur on the Karatoyā (Dinājpur?). They crossed the Karatoyā and halted at Govindagañj, and crossed the river Kistā (Tistā) and remained for some time in Ghorāghāṭ of Matsya-rāja. They crossed the Gaurānga and reached Siṅgiyā-gañj, a village belonging to prince Cilārāi or Sukladhvaja of Cooch Behar. After that they arrived at village Khāñcipur-gañj on the river Naliyā. Here they met a band of robbers in the guise of Rāmait Saṁnyāsis. The pilgrims finally crossed the Soṇkoṣ on the western border of the present Assam, thus terminating their travels which extended from the month of Āgrahāyaṇa to the month of Vaiśākha.

The holy places and rivers visited by Śaṅkaradeva especially those of the first occasion are arranged below in alphabetical order with notes of a general interest from the biographies. An attempt is also made to identify the places. In this I have much to rely on N. L. Dey's *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,* second edition, London, 1927.

Aṅgadīyā-nagara—Anagandi (ancient Kiṣkindhā)? In the text this is described as the capital of Lakṣmaṇa's son.

Ayodhyā—modern Oudh, the place of Rāmacandra, an incarnation of God. The pilgrims rested under a tree, said to have been planted by the demon-women of

Laṅkā who came there along with Sītā. This was a wonder tree which took away man's hunger and thirst.

Baidyanātha—Karmanāśā—Baidyanāth or Deoghar in the Sāntāl Parganā, with the temple of Baidyanātha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva. The river Karmanāśā, described as being brought there by the demon-king Rāvaṇa during some war, is to the north.

Badarikāśrama—Betrakūṭa—Badrīnāth in the Garwal district in U.P. "It is a peak of the main Himalayan range, about a month's journey from Hardwar and 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagara" (Dey). Here the pilgrims saw Uddhava (his image?) and the Betrakūṭa mountain down from which Gaṅgā (the Ganges) descended upon the head of Mahādeva. At Badarikāśrama Śaṅkaradeva composed what seems to be the first Brajabuli poem in Eastern India, *mana meri Rāma-cāraṇahī lāgu.* (M. Neog, "The Bhakti Cycle of Assamese Lyrics" *Journal of the University of Gauhati,* Vol. I.)

Bārānasī—Kāśī—modern Benaras. It is described in the *carits* as Viśveśvara-sthāna, Viśveśvara being the presiding deity and one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva. The Viśveśvara image of Mahādeva is also noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang in his account. This has since been destroyed by Aurangzeb.

Betrakūṭa—See Badarikāśrama.

Bhāgīrathī—Cilipura-ghāṭa—The pilgrims took their holy bath at this bathing ghat on the Ganges, which seems from the description to be in Bengal.

Bharadvāja-kṣetra—same as Bharadvāja-āśrama in Prayāga or Allahabad? It is described as situated in Na(n)-digrāma near the Bindhya mountains.

Bidiśa-nagara—Bhilsa in Malwa in the kingdom of Malwa. Rāmacandra apportioned Bidiśa to Śatrughna's son Śatrughātī (*Rāmāyaṇa,* Uttara., ch. 121). In the text it is described as "the place ot Sucaritā" (Śatrughātī?).

Bindhya-giri—See Nandigrāma.

Bindu-Kāśī—Binduvāsinī in the Mirzapore district in U.P.? This place is said to have been reached by the pilgrims after they had visited Mārga-Kāśī (q. v.).

Candrāvatī—same as Candrāvatī or Jhalrapattan in Rajputana? In the *carit* it is described as "*Śikhara bhūmi Chandraketur nagara*", the capital of king Candraketu.

Cilipura-ghāṭa—See Bhāgīrathī.

Citrakūṭa—Kāmptānāth-giri in Bundelkhand. It is an isolated hill on the river Paisunī (Payasvinī) or Mandākinī. Here the pilgrims visited the place where Rāmacandra lived when in exile.

Daṇḍaka—The forest of Daṇḍaka, the place where Rāmacandra lived while in exile, comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Kṛṣṇā. The pilgrims saw here the very place, it is said, where Rāma lived, where Śūrpaṇakhā's nose and ears were lopped off, and where the demons Khara and Dūṣaṇa were killed.

Draviḍa—"Part of the Deccan from Madras to Seringapatam and Cape Comorin ; the country south of the river Pennar or rather Tripati (Tirupati)" (Dey).

Dvārakā—Dwaraka in Gujraṭ. See Rukmiṇī-mandira.

Gaṇḍakī r.—The Gandak which rises in the Sapta Gandaki or Dhavalgiri range of the Himalayas and enters the plains at a place called Trivenī Ghāṭ. The river is said to have been born of the sweat of the cheeks (*gaṇḍa*) of Viṣṇu in the course of his performing austerities.

Gaṅgā—Kapila-āśrama—Jāhnavī-mohanā. The hermitage of the sage Kapila was situated in the island of Sāgara near the mouth of the Ganges. The ruins of a temple dedicated to the sage is still to be seen there.

Gayā—Phalgu—Gayā is situated between the Rāmśila hill on the north and the Brahmayoni hill on the south of the river Phalgu. In the southern part of Gayā is the new temple of Viṣṇupada built on the site of one of much antiquity. Here the pilgrims offered *piṇḍa* to the manes in the sands of the small river Phalgu.

Godāvarī r.—in Southern India. There is a temple on the bank of the river on the spot where Rāmacandra crossed it.

Gokula—See Vṛndāvana. It is situated at a distance of six miles from Mathurā.

Gomatī r.—the Gumti in Oudh.

Govardhana—See Vṛndāvana.

Haridvāra-kṣetra—(also called Haradvāra) modern Hardwar, situated on the Ganges where it enters the plains from the Sivalik hills.

Hastināpura—north-east of Delhi. The pilgrims, the *carit* goes to say, visited Vidura's *āśrama* here.

Indraprastha—Old Delhi, the capital of the Pāṇḍavas.

Jagannātha—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Jayadvāra (?)—This place is mentioned along with Haridvāra.

Kaikeya—Kekaya, the country between the Bias and the Sutlej, the kingdom of Kaikeyī's father.

Kaiśalya—the ancient kingdom of Kośala—Oudh—divided into Kośala and North Kośala.

Kālindī r.—The Yamunā (See Vṛndāvana) rising in the mountainous region of Kalinda-deśa, whence the name.

Kapilā—a river in Mysore.

Kapilā-āśrama—See Gaṅgā.

Karatoyā r.—See Punarbhavā. This name is explained by the *Kālikā Purāṇa* by saying that it was formed from the sweat flowing from Śiva's hand.

Karmanāśā r.—See Baidyanātha.

Kāśī—See Bārāṇasī.

Kaṭaka-nagara — Urichā-deśa — Oreṣā-purī—Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Kauśika-yajñabhūmi—the place where the sage Kauśika made sacrifices to the gods in Subāhu-nagara (q.v.).

Kauśika-mahātīrtha—(1) the confluence of the Dṛṣadvatī (Chitang) and Kauśikī (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 12), 17 miles to the south of Thāneśvar? (2) Mahākauśikā—"It is formed by the seven Kosis of Nepal, which are the Milamchi, the Sun Kosi (Sona Kosi) or the Bhotea Kosi, the Tamba Kosi, the Likhu Kosi, the Dudha Kosi, the Aruna...and the Tamor" (Dey.)

Kāverī r. — a river in Southern India rising in a mountain in Coorg.

Keśarī r.—the Keśavatī or Viṣṇumatī in Nepal?

Kiṣkindhā-nagara—Kiṣkindhā or Anagandi, a small hamlet on the south bank of the r. Tungabhadrā, 3 miles from Vijayanagara.

Kurukṣetra—modern Thāneśvar. The *carit* says that in Kurukṣetra there is some Bhakti-hāṭa or the Market of Devotion, where Kṛṣṇa bestowed on the Gopīs (cowherdesses of vraja) divine knowledge.

Kuśāvatī-pura—the capital of (south) Kośala, founded by Kuśa, the son of Rāmacandra.

Madārgañj—in Bengal?

Mahānandā r. (1) the river Mahānandā, a course of the Tistā or the river Nandā in Bengal. (2) the river Mahānadī in Orissa (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 3).

Mārga-Kāśī—Probably Vyāsa-Kāśī (Kāśī-madhya or Kāśī-mārga in Śaṅkaradeva, *Bhakti-Pradīpa*, verse 126).

Mathurā—modern Muttra, the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa. According to one account Śaṅkaradeva stayed here for six months.

Mṛkuṇḍa-āśrama—Mārkaṇḍeya-tīrtha at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 16).

Na(n)di-grāma—Vindhya-giri—Bharadvāja-āśrama. The hermitage of sage Bharadvāja is said to have been situated in the village Nandi-grāma near the Vindhya mountains. See Bharadvāja-āśrama. Nandi-grāma is the same as Nund-gāon in Oudh (where Bharata lived when Rāmacandra was in exile)?

Narmadā r.—the modern Nerbuda.

Nepāla—the kingdom of Nepal.

Niṣadha—the ancient kingdom of Nala on the right bank of the Sindh.

Pampā-sarovara—about two miles to the east of Kiṣkindhā or Anagandi. There is a river, the Pampā, which falls into the Tungabhadrā.

Pañcāla—Rohilkhand. "Pañchāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal". (Dey).

Pañcatīrtha—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Pañcavaṭī—modern Nasik on the Godāvarī. Here the pilgrims saw the place where Rāvaṇa killed the bird Jaṭāyu in a tough fight and where the latter was cremated by Rāmacandra.

Payasvinī r.—the river Paisunī or Palar in Southern India. (*Bhāgavata P.*, XI,v).

Phalgu r.—See Gayā.

Praśnāvatī-nagara—said to be founded by Lava, son of Rāmacandra. Possibly Lavapura or Lavakoṭa, modern Lahore, is meant which is said to have been founded by Lava (Tod's *Rajasthan*, I, p. 224).

Prayāga—modern Allahabad. Here the river Yamunā pours into the Ganges. The pilgrims had their heads shaved here according to the prevailing custom and then saw the holy Brahmavaṭa. Hiuen Tsiang mentions the Deva temple here and says, "Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree with the spreading boughs and branches and casting a deep shadow".

Punarbhavā (Pūrṇabhavā) r.—Karatoyā r.—Punarbhavā, Karatoyā and Mahānandā make the three courses of the Tistā. Karatoyā flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra.

Puṣkara-tīrtha—the Puṣkara lake six miles from Ajmir. Here a local poet Gopīnātha took Śaṅkaradeva as his religious preceptor.

Puṣkarāvatī—or Puṣkalāvatī, the old capital of Gāndhāra. It is said to have been founded by Rāmacandra's brother Bharata after the name of his son Puṣkala, who was placed here as king (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, Chs. 101, 114). In the *carit* it is called the place of Bharata's son.

Puṣpabhadrā r.—the river Puṣpavatī or Pambai in Travancore?

Rāmeśvara-Setubandha—Rāmeśvaram or Setubandha (Setukhaṇḍa in the text), a small island in the extreme south wth the celebrated temple of Rāmeśvaranātha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva. There is a place, Rāmajharakā, one and a half miles away from the Rāmeśvara temple, containing the impression of Rāmacandra's feet. The pilgrims bathed near the Adam's Bridge.

Ṛśyamūka-parvata—a mountain situated on the Tuṅgabhadrā. Here Hanumān and Sugrīva met Rāmacandra (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣk., ch. 4). The pilgrims visited the place where five monkey chiefs took refuge in Rāmacandra.

Rukmiṇī-mandira—the abode of Kṛṣṇa's chief consort Rukmiṇī, in Dwaraka in Gujarat.

Sarayū r.—the Ghagra or Gogra in Oudh.

Setubandha—See Rāmeśvara-Setubandha.

Sītākuṇḍa—Candra-tīrtha from the hot spring of which the Kāverī originates. Here Sītā had to stand Rāmacandra's fire-ordeal.

Soṇārū r.—The river Śoṇā (*Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma., ch. 9) Śoṇā (*Vāyu P.*), Śoṇa (modern Sone) or Hiraṇyabāhu (*Amarakośa*). It rises from the Gaṇḍavana and falls into the Ganges near Pāṭaliputra.

Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra—The pilgrims "bathed in the Mahānandā, stayed at Kaṭakanagara (Cuttack) in the country Urichā (Orissa) of Bargī (?) kings and at last saw Oreṣā-purī Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra, the place of Jagannātha, a veritable Vaikuṇṭha on earth". The five sacred spots they visited here in Puri are together called *Pañca-tīrtha*: Śveta-Gaṅgā, Mārkaṇḍeya, Candana Sarovara (Candantalāo or Narendra tank where the Candana-yātrā of Jagannātha takes place in the month of Vaiśākha), Indradamana (Indradyumna Sarovara) and Lokanātha. They also bathed in the Sindhurāja and the Pātālī-Gaṅgā. They then entered the Deva's temple and saw Dvārakānātha, Hanūmān, Jāmbavān, Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva, Yama, Bali, Brahmā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Ghunucā, Ugrasena, Caitanyā-Bāṅkiyādhārī Kṛṣṇa, Govardhanadhārī (Kṛṣṇa), Nṛsiṁha, Śrī-Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, Nanda, Yaśodā, Vasudeva, Devakī, Ekādaśī (Ekānaṁśa or Sāvitrī?), Garuḍa, Hara and Gaurī and other deities. Śaṅkaradeva stayed at Puri for an year and every evening explained the *Brahma Purāṇa* and related the story of king Indradyumna's setting up the wooden image of Jagannātha at Puri. According to one account, Viṣṇudatta and others, all sons of Pāṇḍās of Jagannātha accepted Śaṅkaradeva as spiritual preceptor. At the close of one year's stay there, the pilgrims had the holy sight of Kṛṣṇa,

Balabhadra, Subhadrā and the Brahmavaṭa, bathed in the sea and left the great holy place.

Subāhu-nagara—described in the *carita* as the capital of Śatrughna's son (?) and as the place where the demons Mārīca and Subāhu were killed. Dey says: "In the village called Saikhera, at a short distance from Nasik, Rāmachandra is said to have killed Mārīcha who had beguiled him from his hut."

Śvetadvīpa—an ancient kingdom.

Takṣaka-nagara—Takṣa-śilā, said to have been founded by Rāmacandra's brother Bharata after the name of his son, Takṣa, placed there as king. From the account in the *carita* it seems that the pilgrims reached this place after they had crossed the Gumti.

Urichā—See Śri-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Varāha-kṣetra—in the Purnea district. According to one biography Śaṅkaradeva completed his fortieth year at this place.

Vṛndāvana—Gokula-Yamunā. Here in Vṛndāvana Śaṅkaradeva stayed on the Kālindī (Yamunā), took the ceremonial bath in the Kāli(ya)-hrada (the lake of the serpent Kāliya on the Yamunā), and remained for sometime under the shade of the Kadamba tree on its bank. It is here, the *carita* goes on to tell us, that the famous Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmīs and Vṛndāvana-dāsa were initiated into the Bhakti cult by Śaṅkaradeva. This seems to be very doubtful for want of definite evidence. But the legend cannot be brushed aside as impossible. In Rūpa's *Vidagdha-Mādhava Nāṭaka* the Sūtradhāra is made to say, "To-day I have been commanded in a dream by Bhaktāvatāra Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva (to produce this drama)". It has been pointed out (M. Neog, *Śrī-Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva*, p. 28) that this might very well be a reference to Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva of Assam. The twelve groves of Vṛndāvana are thus enumerated: Luha (Loha), Muha (Mahā), Lāla (?), Tāla, Kuñja (Kumuda ? or Kuṇḍa?), Muñja (?), Nikuñja, Khajura (?), Aśoka, Bhāṇḍīra, Kāmya (Kāmyaka), Khidra (Khadira?). The pilgrims also visited Keśī-ghāṭa (where the horse-demon Keśī was killed) and Vaṁśī-vaṭa, took the holy bath again in the Yamunā and stayed for some days at Govardhana. The little town of Gobardhan is the celebrated Govardhana hill on the banks of the tank Mānasa-Gaṅgā, eighteen miles away from Vṛndāvana (Dey).

Yamunā r.—See Kālindī, Vṛndāvana.

PRĀCĪNA-PADYĀVALĪ OF DIVĀKARA, SON OF MAHĀDEVA—1685 A.D.*

By

K. VENKATESWARA SARMA

Prācīna-Padyāvalī is a little known anthological work of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and grandson on the paternal and maternal sides respectively of Bālakṛṣṇa and Nīlakaṇṭha. Author of the Dharmaśāstrasudhānidhi, Divākara, like other members of his family, is more reputed as a writer on Dharmaśāstra. Here, I propose to draw attention to this work of his in the literary field. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum notes a Padyāvalī under a Divākara[1] but nowhere notes a manuscript of the work. This seems to be the only reference to the work and no manuscript of it has yet been brought to the notice of scholars. The Travancore University Manuscripts Library acquired recently two manuscripts of the work, both from Benaras and probably from the same collection. These form the basis of the following analysis and study of work.[2]

Both the Mss., (Nos. 7073 and 1770),[3] are roughly of the same size (10"×5") in old country paper written in Devanāgari script. Both are complete, except that in the latter (No. 1770) four folios, Nos. 136-39, are missing and a lacuna of 18 verses occurs on folio 164 which is left blank except for three lines on the obverse. The titles of sections and numbers of verses are generally marked with red pigment. From the different writings in both the Mss., it can be gathered that several scribes have contributed to their transcription. The Mss. have also gone through the hands of revisors, though scribal

---

*Read before the XIV Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, 1948.

1. CC. Vol. I, p. 253b; but not under our author Divākara who comes later in the same page.

2. I understand from Sri S. L. Katre, Ujjain, that there is a third manuscript of the work in the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain (No. 985).

3. The folios of the Ms. referred to in this paper pertain to the first one, *viz.*, No. 7073.

errors still abound. Both Mss. have the same date of transcription, and common gaps are not uncommon. But there are also many instances of lacunae occurring in one but not in the other, which fact rules out the possibility of one being the source of the other. It is presumed, therefore, that neither is the original with the date marked in them but that both are derived from the same original indirectly and independent of each other.

The work opens with a prayer to the Sun, the favourite deity of the author.

f. 1b:

उत्पत्त्यादिप्रकर्तारं हर्तारं तमसः परम् ।
दातारं सर्वकामानां तं भजेऽहं विकर्तनम् ॥
इहैके शैवाः सन्त्यपर उदिताः शक्तिपरमा-
स्ततोऽन्ये गाणेशाः कतिचिदपरे वैष्णवतमाः ।
त एते मार्तण्ड ! प्रति परमुखेन स्वत उत
प्रयान्ति त्वामेवाखिलसुसरितो वारिधिमिव ॥

The nature of the work and Divākara's authorship of the compilation are stated next.

f. 1b:

अथेह किलाखिललोकप्रमोदनिदानरूपां शार्ङ्गधराद्यखिलव्रज्यागणाखर्वगर्वनिर्वापणोद्धुरां गद्यदण्डकयुतां सकृच्छन्दोलक्षणाम् आनन्दकिरणां भारद्वाजकुलावतंस-सकलबुधगणमुकुटमध्यमणि-तर्कादिशास्त्रज्ञ-श्रीमहादेवभट्टानां पुत्रः श्रीमदद्वैतमीमांसासाम्राज्याचार्य-धर्मशास्त्रस्वतन्त्र-विश्वामित्रकुलजलधिकौस्तुभ-भट्टनीलकण्ठभट्टानां दौहित्रः उभयकुलविचित्रः स्वधर्मपवित्रः सेवितमित्रः प्राप्तसुचरित्रो गुणनिकरः सुखकरोऽतिचतुरः परोपकारपरो दिवाकरः प्राचीनपद्यावलीं वितनुते । तत्रादौ पद्योपक्रमकिरणः—

सद्वृत्तां जातिसंयुक्तां छन्दोलक्षणसंयुताम् ।
महादेवात्मजो धीमान् भारद्वाजोपनामकः ॥
आलीं प्राचीनपद्यानां कुरुते वै दिवाकरः ।
अनर्घराघवादींश्च ग्रन्थान् वीक्ष्योपकारि(णीम्? णः) ॥
आसेचनानि पद्यानि हृद्यानि विविधान्यपि ।
लिख्यन्तेऽत्रानवद्यानि स्वाद्यान्येव पराणि हि ॥

Next, the author recounts the subjects dealt with.

f. 1b:

तत्रादावाशिषः पश्चाद्भाषितानां प्रशंसना ।
काव्यशंसा (f.2a) कवीनां च प्रशंसा तु विपश्चिताम् ॥
धर्माख्यानादि यत्सर्वं पद्यावल्यां समासतः ।
अन्योक्तयः सुधासिक्ताः श्रृङ्गारादि विरच्यते ॥

एतेषां पद्यानां पथ्यावक्त्रं छन्दः । लक्षणं त्वग्रे वक्ष्यते ।

The work ends:

f. 156b:

अथ ग्रन्थोपसंहारकिरणः—

या दुग्धा कविदोग्धृभिः पटुतरैः सा सूक्तिधेनुस्तथा-
व्यूधो दुग्धचयेन वर्धयति किं धूर्णं यतो दृश्यते ।
खल्यामेव ततो दिवाकर इति प्राचीनपद्यावलीं
तेने ; तेन स मण्डलान्तरगतो नारायणः प्रीयताम् ॥

(शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्)

इष्टास्तु दृष्टा बहवोऽपि देवा-
स्तथापि सेवा मम रोचतेऽस्य ।
के वा न भास्वन्तममुं सुपूज्य
ये वासनां प्राप्य भवाद्विमुक्ताः ॥

Next follow three more verses on the Sun. Then occurs:

f. 157a:

रामचन्द्र ! तव पादसेवनं
मानसं भवति यस्य शासनम् ।
तस्य जन्म सफलं सुजीवितं
जीवितं च किमु तेन लभ्यते ॥

Three more verses in praise of Rāma follow. The author then concludes the work:

f. 157a:

विज्ञापनेयं करसम्पुटेन
विज्ञेष्वविज्ञेष्वपि सादरं मे ।
आसेचनानीति सुयोजितानि
प्राचीनपद्यानि मया हितानि ॥ (इन्द्रवज्रा)

पद्यावलीयं सरसा मया कृता
भूम्यब्धिसिन्धूद्भवचन्द्रसंयुते[4] ।
संवत्सरे भाद्रपदे सिते तिथौ
षष्ठ्यां सुपूर्णा खखहस्ति (f. 157b) वह्निभिः[5] ॥
(उपेन्द्रवज्रा)

तत्राद्यान्ताङ्कयोस्त्यागे किरणानां समा भवेत् ।
सङ्ख्या ; सैवाथ पद्यानां खखाष्टैक-समन्विता ॥ (पथ्यावक्त्रम्)

उक्तं नात्र मया किञ्चिद्यदुक्तं तन्महात्मभिः ।
अतो निरीक्षितव्योऽयं पद्यानामावलिर्बुधैः ॥ (पथ्यावक्त्रम्)

स्फीतं कल्पलतामिवातिविततां नानारसैराचितां
सर्वार्थोपचितां प्रसङ्गरचितां सद्भिः सदा सेविताम् ।
प्राप्तां भूषणतां सतां गुणवतां कान्तां सुवृत्तां सदा
कण्ठे तां कुरुतां दिवाकरकृतां प्राचीनपद्यावलीम् ॥
भारद्वाजकुले श्रुतिस्मृतिपटुः श्रीसूर्यभक्तस्तथा
रामाराधनतत्परोऽपि च महादेवोऽभवत्तार्किकः ।
तत्पुत्रेण दिवाकरेण चतुरा पाणिग्रहाकर्षिता
पद्याली कलिता करोति वलिता शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ॥
इति श्रीभारद्वाज-बालकृष्णभट्टात्मज-
महादेवसूनु-दिवाकरकृता पद्यावली
शान्तरसं प्राप्ता विजयते ॥

The scribe adds after this:

---

4. The date of compilation of the work, Saṁ. 1741 (1685 A.D.)

5. This with the following verse gives the number of sections (called *kiraṇas*) in the work and the total number of verses. ख-ख-हस्ति-वह्नि (3800) without the first and the last digits (तत्राद्यान्ताङ्कयोः त्यागे) gives the number of sections as 80. The same number, 80, added to ख-खा-ष्टै-क (1800) gives the total number of verses in the work as 1880. Actually, however, the total number of verses in the Mss. comes to about 2030, or there are about 150 additional verses.

f. 157b:

रामवारिधिहयैकयुते[6] सद्वत्सरे च सितफाल्गुने शुभे ।
मासि पुस्तकमिदं शुभमेतत् स्वाक्षरेण लिखितं मयोद्धृतम् ॥

[7]श्रीसूर्यार्पणमस्तु । श्रीरामः शरणं परम् । श्रीसूर्यगणेशमहालक्ष्मी-शिवविष्णुभ्यो नमः ।

बालकेभ्यो न दातव्यं दुष्टेभ्योऽपि कदाचन ।
जलाद्रक्ष्यं विशेषेण पथ्यावक्त्रं हि पुस्तकम् ॥
श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ।
रामः ।

The work is essentially a compilation, an anthology of poetic selections sorted and arranged by subjects. Each division of the work is called a *kiraṇa* and is prefixed with a benedictory verse, presumably the compiler's own. A staunch devotee of Sūrya, Divākara names the sections as *kiraṇas*. The work consists of 80 *kiraṇas* analysed as follows:

Ff.	No. of the Kiraṇa.	Name of the Kiraṇa.	Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
1b	Introduction	मङ्गल	1-2	(2)
2a	1	पद्योपक्रमाकिरणः	1-13	13
2a	2	आशीःकिरणः	14-84(+1)	71 (+1)
7b	3	सुभाषितप्रशंसाकिरणः	85-89	5
8a	4	काव्यप्रशंसा- ,,	90-96	7
8b	5	कविप्रशंसा- ,,	{97-100 1-2	6
9a	6	कुकविनिन्दा- ,,	3-7	5
9a	7	पण्डितप्रशंसा-	8-15	8
9b	8	विद्याप्रशंसा- ,,	16-22	7
10a	9	महन्नति- ,,	23-32	10
11a	10	महत्प्रशंसा- ,,	33-38	6

6. The year of transcription is Saṁ. 1743 (1687 A.D.), *i.e.*, two years after the compilation of the work.

7. For the portion following, the second manuscript, No. 1770, has :

श्रीसीतारामचन्द्राभ्यां नमः । हनुमते नमः ।

Ff.	No. of the Kiraṇa.	Name of the Kiraṇa.		Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
11a	11	धीरप्रशंसाकिरण:		39-43	5
11b	12	रामस्तुति-	,,	44-63	20
13a	13	महत्प्रार्थना	,,	64-95	32
15b	14	विशिष्टशिष्टाचार-	,,	96-100 1-6	11
16b	15	सज्जनप्रशंसा-	,,	7-14	8
17a	16	मनस्विप्रशंसा-	,,	15-17	3
17b	17	मानप्रशंसा-	,,	18-22	5
18a	18	परोपकारप्रशंसा	,,	23-30	8
18b	19	गुरुप्रशंसा-	,,	31-35	5
18b	20	सत्यप्रशंसा-	,,	36-41	6
19a	21	असत्यनिन्दा-	,,	42-44	3
19b	22	विवेकप्रशंसा-	,,	45-50	6
19b	23	उदारप्रशंसा-	,,	51-59	9
20a	24	तेजस्विप्रशंसा-	,,	60-64	5
20b	25	गुणप्रशंसा-	,,	65-77	13
21a	26	सन्तोषप्रशंसा-	,,	78-83	6
21b	27	सुसङ्गप्रशंसा-	,,	84-91	8
22a	28	धनप्रशंसा-	,,	92-97	6
22b	29	सुवर्णमुक्ताविवाद-	,,	98-100 1-10	13
24a	30	दुर्जननिन्दा-	,,[8]	11-29	19
26a	31	मूर्खनिन्दा-	,,	30-36	7
26b	32	कृपणनिन्दा-	,,	37-47	11
27a	33	याचकनिन्दा-	,,	48-52	5
27a	34	दरिद्रनिन्दा-	,,	53-65	13
28b	35	तृष्णानिन्दा-	,,	66-72	7
29a	36	लोभनिन्दा-	,,	73-76	4
29b	37	उद्यमप्रशंसा-	,,	77-83	7
30a	38	दैवाख्यान-	,,	84-99	16
31a	39	धर्मप्रशंसा-	,,	100 1-5	6

8. Verse 24 in this *kiraṇa* is explained in 12 ways.

Ff.	No. of the Kiraṇa.	Name of the Kiraṇa.	Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
31b	40	देवताध्यानकिरणः	6-13	8
32b	41	नामस्मरणप्रशंसा-,,	14-21	8
33a	42	कलियुगवर्णन- ,,	22-27	6
33b	43	अङ्गीकृतनिर्वाह- ,,	28-33	6
34a	44	परिचयदोष- ,,	34-38	5
34b	45	पुराकृतकर्म- ,,	39-42	4
35a	46	भवितव्य- ,,	43-46	4
35b	47	प्रीतिप्ररोहवर्णन- ,,	47-55	9
36a	48	भग्नप्रेमवर्णन- ,,	56-59	4
36b	49	बुद्धिप्रशंसा- ,,	60-66	7
37a	50	जाति- ,,	67-100	34
39a	51	प्रकीर्णकाख्यान- ,,	1-111	111
46b	52	गङ्गायमुनयोर्वर्णन-,,	112-120	9
47a	53	नलचरित्रवर्णन- ,,	121-145 46-100 1-100 1-100 1-37	317
64a	54	रामचरित- ,,	1-100 1-72	172
75a	55	अन्योक्ति- ,,	1-100 1-62	162
88a	56	उक्तिप्रत्युक्ति- ,,	1-17	17
89a	57	प्राकृतपद्य- ,,	1-4	4
89b	58	चित्रकाव्य- ,,	1-12	12
91a	59	अन्तरालापादि- ,,	1-11	11
91b	60	समस्या- ,,	1-12	12
92a	61	राजवर्णन- ,,	1-52	52
96b	62	नीति- ,,	1-31	31
97b	63	नीतिकथानक- ,,	1-100 1-22	122

Ff.	No. of the Kiraṇa.	Name of the Kiraṇa.		Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
115b	64	प्रशस्तिकिरणः		(4)	(4)
				1-2	2
				(5)	(5)
				1-4	4
				1-11	11
119b	65	दण्डक-[9]	,,	1-5	5
120a	66	प्रेमवर्णन-	,,	1-4	4
120b	67	शृङ्गार-	,,	1-100	
				1-100	
				1-100	
				1-19	319
145b	68	हास्य-	,,	1-4	4
146a	69	करुण-	,,	1-19	19
147b	70	रौद्र-	,,	1-4	4
148a	71	वीर-	,,	1-3	3
148b	72	भयानक-	,,	1-3	3
148b	73	बीभत्सक-	,,	1-3	3
149a	74	अद्भुत-	,,	1-3	3
149a	75	शान्त-	,,	1-17	17
150b	76	भक्ति-	,,	1-27	27
153a	77	वैराग्य-	,,	1-32	32
155b	78	काशीवर्णन-	,,	1-3	3
156a	79	ग्रन्थशंसा-	,,	1-9	9
156b	80	ग्रन्थोपसंहार-	,,	1-15	15

Total No. of verses: 2019 + (12) = 2031

It may be seen that the field covered by these eighty *kiraṇas* is fairly large and comprehensive. The common subjects treated in anthologies like कविप्रशंसा, विद्याप्रशंसा, अन्योक्तयः etc., and other allied topics have been dealt with in detail.

---

9. The 3rd *daṇḍaka* details the genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha, the maternal grandfather of Divākara. The 4th refers to Jeswant Singh, a contemporary Rajput chieftain of Bundelkhand in Marwar.

The nine rasas are dealt with in separate *kiraṇas* (Nos. 67-75), the Śṛṅgāra (No. 67) in great detail, in 319 verses. There is also a भक्तिकिरण (No. 76) stating in general the Bhakti doctrine and the views of the various schools, the Śaivas, Abhedavādins, Mīmāṁsakas, Śābdikas and Tārkikas. There is a *kiraṇa* on Banaras (No. 78), the city of Divākara's residence, as also one on the Ganges and the Jumna (No. 52).

The special feature of some of the *kiraṇas* is their incorporation in them of some of the more popular works in Sanskrit literature in an abridged form, using the original verses themselves. The Suvarṇamuktāvivādakiraṇa (No. 29) is an epitome of Maheśapaṇḍita's (c. 1500-1550) *Svarṇamuktāvivāda*, a work in conversational style on the dispute of Gold and Pearl for superiority.[10] The *Nalacaritravarṇana-kiraṇa* (No. 53) is a running summary of *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharṣa taking all the verses from the original itself. The next section, *Rāmacaritakiraṇa*[11] (No. 54) is another of a similar nature. The *Nītikathānaka-kiraṇa* (No. 63) is again a summary of the *Hitopadeśa* without the intervening episodes.

A special feature of this anthology is that it gives at the end of each verse its metre. For, as the compiler himself observes at the beginning of the work:

f. 2a.

ननु प्रस्तावेऽस्मिन्नसवति हि (?) वृत्तं किमिति ये
वितर्कं विद्वांसो मनसि तु करिष्यन्ति कतिचित् ।
समाधानं तेषां सदसि पठितं तद्विरहितं
सदर्थं यत्काव्यं तदपि खलु दोषाय भवति ॥
इति हेतोस्तज्ज्ञानार्थं प्रतिपद्यं तदुच्यते सम्यक् ।
इदमाकलयति यो रसिकच्छन्दसि स तु तुलाधरो भवति ॥

---

10. Vide Mss. of the work, I.O. 4202, Wai 73; Ed. in the Laghukāvyāni (pp. 171ff.) forming part of the Bombay Magazine "Kāvyetihāsa-saṅgraha", Vol. X. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan for drawing my attention to this fact.

11. The original of this summary could not be identified. It is, however, different from the *Rāmacaritas* of Sandhyākaranandin and Abhinanda.

The author then proceeds to define and distinguish between वृत्त and जाति, enumerates the 26 *chandas* and illustrates each with a *vṛtta* coming under it and an example eulogising his favourite deity, the Sun. For the many other *vṛttas* coming under the various *chandas* the reader is referred to the author's *Vṛttaratnākarādarśa*; Cf.
(f. 4b)

इत्येकाक्षरपादमारभ्य षड्विंशत्यक्षरपादं यावद् एकैको भेदः प्रकाशितः । भेदानामानन्त्यात् । तेषां भेदज्ञानोपायस्तु वृत्तरत्नाकरादर्शे स्फुटं मया अभ्यधायि ।

In the body of the anthology itself, whenever an unusual metre occurs, the definition of the same is also given. Again, elucidation of apparent non-adherenee of a verse to the definition of its *vṛtta* is often made. To cite an instance:
f. 27b:

दारिद्र्याद्ध्रियमेति ह्रीपरिगतः प्रभ्रश्यते तेजसा
निस्तेजाः परिभूयते परिभवान्निर्वेदमापद्यते ।
निर्विण्णः शुचमेति शोकपिहितो बुद्ध्या परित्यज्यते
निर्बुद्धिः क्षयमेत्यहो निधनता सर्वापदामास्पदम् ।

(शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्)

न च पूर्वोक्तशार्दूलविक्रीडितलक्षणे 'मध्यगुर्जगग' इति नियमाद्, अत्र तदभावाद्, इदं शार्दूलविक्रीडितं नेति वाच्यम् । यद्यपि संयुक्तपरत्वाद् दारिद्र्याद्ध्रियमेतीति 'इ'कारस्य लघोर्गुरुत्वमवगतम्, तथापि प्रह्रादिशब्दे परे लघोर्गुरुत्वं कचिन्नास्तीति वा भूषणादिग्रन्थे उक्तत्वात् ।

Divākara does not indicate at the end of each verse its source, as is generally the case in anthologies. He acknowledges his indebtedness to his sources in a general manner in the beginning of the work as also at the close. His own verses, he indicates by such expressions as दिवाकरस्य (ff. 4b, 116), मामकः श्लोकः (90b), मदीयाः (116a) and ममैव (128b). It is very likely, however, that there are more verses of Divākara than those specifically indicated as above, and especially such are the benedictory verses heading each kiraṇa.

Divākara often refers to or cites authorities in quoting definitions, justifying usages, or referring the readers to

further literature on the subject. Such authorities referred to by name are:

अनर्घराघवम् f. 1b; also under मुरारिः ।

एकाक्षरकोशः f. 15b.

काव्यप्रकाशः of Mammaṭa f. 120b, 130b.

केदारभट्टः f. 2b; also under वृत्तरत्नाकरः ।

भूषणम् 27b.

मल्लिकानाथः 88b.

माण्डव्यः[12] 119b.

मुरारिः 8a.

विदग्धमुखमण्डनम् 25b.

वृत्तरत्नाकरः of Kedārabhaṭṭa 5a, 7a.

वृत्तरत्नाकरादर्शः a commentary on the above by Divākara himself 3a, 4b, 120a.

शार्ङ्गधरपद्धतिः 1b.

It may be of interest to note that there is a reference to Jeswant Singh, a contemporary Rajput chief of Bundelkhand in Marwar, who was deputed by Aurangazib to Peshwar in 1672 to quell troubles that broke out in the frontier. Jewant Singh is eulogised in an illustration of a variety of दण्डक called अर्णव ।

ff. 119b-20a:

नरवर—जसवन्तसिंहस्य बुन्देलचूडामणेः शौर्यनीरार्णवं बाहुमासाद्य चञ्चद्युतिर्गगनगकरवालकालस्वरूपाम्बुदः पूरिता(रा)तिसामन्तसीमन्तिनीनेत्र-नीरापगः रिपुशशधरकीर्तिपूर्तिस्युत्कौमुदी (?) संवृणोति स्वयं स्वर्णसम्मुष्टि-सौदामिनीमण्डनः कलयति च सपत्नभूपप्रतापालिदावानलज्वालया दह्यमानं जगच्छीतलं धारया ॥

The completion of a *samasyā* connecting the names of Hanūmat, Bhāravi and Kālidāsa occurs in the पुराकृतकर्मकिरण ।

f. 35a:

इह खलु विषमः पुराकृतानां
भवति हि जन्तुषु कर्मणां विपाकः ।

12. An early writer on metrics mentioned also by Piṅgala.

क्व च जनकजनाधिराजपुत्री
क्व च दशकन्धरमन्दिरे निवासः ॥

(अर्धसमं वृत्तम्)

अत्र पूर्वार्धं हनूमतः, उत्तरार्धं भारवेः । कालिदासस्तु उत्तरार्धमन्यथा चकार ।

हरशिरसि शिरांसि यानि रेजुः
शिव शिव तानि लुठन्ति गृध्रपादौ ॥

युक्तं चैतत् ।

Divākara belonged to a family of reputed scholars both in the paternal and maternal lines. His father Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa was a great Naiyāyika—तर्कादिशास्त्रज्ञ as Divākara refers to him in the introduction to the present work—and in collaboration with his son Dinakara (Divākara) Bhaṭṭa, was the author of the commentary Dinakarī on the Siddhāntamuktāvalī of Viśvanātha. Nīlakaṇṭha, the renowned Nibandhakāra and the author of the twelve Mayūkhas was his maternal grandfather. Divākara himself is more renowned as a writer on Dharmaśāstra than in other branches of Sanskrit literature.[13] He flourished at Banaras during the latter half of the 17th century and it is towards the close of the century that he wrote his works, in some of which the dates of composition are also mentioned: his Śrāddhacandrikā about 1680, his Tithyarka about 1683,[14] his commentary on Vṛttaratnākara in 1684,[15] the present work in 1685 and the Ācārārka portion of his Dharmaśāstrasudhānidhi in 1686.[16]

---

13. For a list of Divākara's works, see: C.C. I. 253b-54a; P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 702.
14. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 702.
15. C.C. I. 597-a.
16. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 702.

ŚRĪPARṆIKĀ

By

B. Ch. Chhabra, *Ootacamund*

Śrīparṇikā was a village. It was evidently so called because it abounded in trees of the *śrīparṇa* or *śrīparṇī* species.[1] This interpretation of the name, which, I believe, is the correct one, suddenly dawned upon me not long ago when I was preparing an article on the subject of Village-Names After Trees[2] and was, in my obsession, seeing some arboreal species or other behind every other village-name in India.

The village of Śrīparṇikā existed possibly in the neighbourhood of Ramtek, the modern representative of the Rāmagiri of the *Mēghadūta* fame in the Nagpur District of the Madhya Pradesh. It is mentioned in the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja, assignable to the 6th century A.C., published in a recent issue of the *Epigraphia Indica*.[3] This record has been edited by Śrī V. V. Mirashi, the Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit and Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur. According to him, the name of the village is Parṇikā with *Śrī* prefixed to it as a mere honorific.[4] This is obviously an error and, as Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, I would have nipped it in the bud, had the true etymology of the name occurred to me earlier than it did. Now, were it only for that, I would not have thought of writing this note. There is something more to be said in the wake.

My hunt for the village-names after trees brought me face to face with two more villages whose names are likewise

---

1. They include silk-cotton trees and are better known to the botanist under their Latin appellations *Salmalia Malabarica*, *Premna Spinosa* or *Longifolia*, *Myristica Malabarica*, *Marica Sapida*, etc. Compare Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha*, III, 241: *śrīparṇas=tv= agnimanthē='bjē śrīparṇī śālmalau haṭhē*.

2. This is under publication in the *Robinson Memorial Volumes* to be issued by the University of Mississippi, U. S. A.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-11 and plate. The village-name *Śrīparṇikā* occurs on p. 9, text line 16.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 8, 11.

derived from *śrīparṇa* or *śrīparṇī*. One of them was in Berar and the other in Baroda. The former is found as *Śrīpārṇikhēṭa* and *Śrīparṇikagrāma* in the Khāmkhēḍ plates of Pratāpaśīla,[5] dating from the 8th century A.C., while the latter occurs as *Śrīparṇakā* in the Sāṅkhēḍā plate of Śāntilla,[6] referable to the 7th century A. C. As chance would have it, Professor Mirashi happens to be the editor of the Khāmkhēḍ plates as well, and he has treated the village-name *Śrīparṇi* in the same way as he has done *Śrīparṇikā* of the Nagardhan plates, abridging it of its *Śrī*.[7] And I, on my part, have again shared this error with him inasmuch as, in the Index to Vol. XXII of of the *Epigraphia Indica*, I have faithfully entered the name of the village under *Parṇṇikagrāma* and *Parṇṇikhēṭa*. It may be pointed out that Professor Mirashi has proposed the identification of this village with Pāṅgārkhēḍ, while he has not been able to identify Parṇikā (really Śrīparṇikā) of the Nagardhan plates.

As for Śrīparṇakā of the Sāṅkhēḍā plate, it has met with no better fate, as the editor of this record likewise does not consider its *Śrī* as an integral part of the name.[8] He has identified the village with Paniu. The compiler of the Index in this case has evidently not seen eye to eye with the editor of the record, for he has indexed the name under Śrīparṇākā (correctly *Śrīparṇakā*) only.

It may finally be observed that all the three villages discussed above occur only as boundary villages, and not as places of issue of the respective grants, in which case the prefixing of *Śri* to the names may have some meaning. As it is, there is no justification in treating the names in question as preceded by that honorific. Besides, as shown in my article referred to in the beginning, the naming of villages after trees was a fashion in India in olden days. Instances of this practice can

---

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 95, text line 7, and p. 96, text line 21.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 24, text line 8. The exact reading of the name is *Śrīparṇṇakā*, but Mr. H. H. Dhruva, the editor of the record, has wrongly read it as *Śrīparṇṇākā*. There is no length mark attached to the superscript *rēpha*, which, if there were one, should have been indicated after the fashion followed in *sarvvān* in line 5 of the same plate.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 94 and 96.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 22 and 23.

be quoted by hundreds. Take, for example, Nirguṇḍipadraka, the place of issue of the very Sāṅkhēḍā plate, where the royal camp was pitched at the time of the grant. In spite of its obvious importance, by the way, no *śrī* is prefixed to its name. This name is again of arboreal origin, being after *nirguṇḍī*,[9] 'Vitex Negundo', as Baroda, ancient Vaṭapadraka,[10] is after *vaṭa*, 'Ficus Indica'. Those who have seen the Indirā Avenue in the city of Baroda, flanked by giant banyan trees, will bear this out. There is thus no doubt that the village-names like Śrīparṇikā are associated each with the species of plant life they allude to, directly or indirectly.

---

9. According to Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha*, III, 186, *nirguṇḍī* means *nīla-śēphālī*, *sinduvāra* and *abja-kandaka*. In the name *Nirguṇḍipadraka*, either of the first two may be meant.

10. It is interesting to note that the present flourishing city of Baroda, the capital of the Baroda State, was, in the 9th century A.C., a small village, called *Vaṭapadraka* or *Vaṭapura*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80.

ŚĀLIVĀHANA AND THE ŚAKA ERA

BY

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund*

Recently there has been a controversy on the earliest instance in which the name of King Śālivāhana has been mentioned in connection with the years of the Śaka era. In the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXV, p. 201, Prof. V. V. Mirashi says that the earliest inscriptions mentioning Śālivāhana's name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of king Bukkarāya I, such as the Harihar copper-plate inscription of Śaka 1276 (1354 A.C.). Dr. G. S. Gai has shown in his two notes published in the *Journal of Oriental Research,* Vol. XVII, pp. 92-93 and Vol. XVIII, p. 190, that Prof. Mirashi is wrong, as Śālivāhana's connection with the Śaka era can be easily pushed more than a century back. In his first note, Dr. Gai draws our attention to the Tasgaon plates (*Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan,* Vol. III, pp. 9, 65) of the Yādava King Kṛishṇa of Devagiri, in which the Śaka date 1172 (1251 A. C.) is mentioned as *Śālavāhana-Śaka.* Dr. Gai then proposed to "accept 1251 A. C. as the earliest instance of the use of this name (*i.e.,* of Śālivāhana) in a date known so far". In his second note, Dr. Gai refers to the Kannaḍa work *Udbhaṭakāvyam* by Somarāja. This work was composed "when 1144 years of the era known as *Śālivāhana-Śaka* had elapsed". Thus King *Śālivāhana's* association with the Śaka era has not yet been traced beyond Śaka 1144 (1222 A.C.), i.e. the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Indian epigraphic and literary records so far discovered are already numerous and new discoveries are increasing their number gradually year after year. It is therefore difficult to say the last word on a topic of this kind. But I know of an inscription of 1059 A.C. associating Śālivāhana with the Śaka era, which has unfortunately escaped the notice even of Dr. Gai. This record would carry back Śālivāhana's association with the Śaka era 163 years before the 'earliest' date (1222 A.C.) proposed by him. The inscription was noticed more than a century ago in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. IX, p. 549, and also in the *Journal of the*

American Oriental Society, Vol. VII, p. 35. The late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar referred to the inscription in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1907-08. p. 37, and later included it in his *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India* (appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX-XXIII) as No. 134. The same epigraph is recognised as No. 68 of Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, appended to the *Epigraph a Indica*, Vol. V. The inscription which comes from Udaypur in the old Gwalior State of the modern state of Madhya Bharat is in vernacular and speaks of the Paramāra king Udayāditya as having built a temple of Śiva. Bhandarkar transcribed the inscription "from the original record" and quotes the date portion in line 6 as follows: *ekādaśa-śata-varsh-āṁga tad-adhikaṁ shoḍasaṁ cha Vikramedresaṁ||* (*Saṁvat* 1116) *nava-sata-ekasīti Śaka gata Śāl.vahina cha nripadhīsa* (*Śāke* 981).

The date of the above inscription is given as the year 1116 of the Vikrama Saṁvat and as the year 981 of the Saka or Śālivāhana era. The record does not use the compound *Śālivāhana-Śaka* as the name of the era which is, however, called both *Śaka* and *Śālivāhana*. The year corresponds to 1059 A.C. The Śālivāhana saga thus seems to have begun to develop at least as early as the middle of the eleventh century A.C.

THE LAKṢAṆAMĀLĀ OF ŚIVĀDITYA

The Lakṣaṇamālā or Wreath of Definitions is a short work on Nyāya. The sixteen categories enumerated in the Ñyāya-śāstra of Gautama are herein defined and explained. The author opens the work by defining Pramā or valid cognition.

Śaṅkaramiśra, commenting upon Śriharṣa's refutation of the first Pramālakṣaṇa[1] says that since the establishment of all categories depends upon the determination of 'Pramā' the author of Lakṣaṇamālā takes up Pramā first for definition. It is quite reasonable that since Pramā has to be understood for a clear understanding of Pramāṇa, the author preferred to define Pramā first and Pramāṇa afterwards. After expounding the definitions of Perception, Inference, Comparison, and Verbal Testimony, the four Pramāṇas accepted by Gautama, the author proceeds to define the twelve Prameyas enumerated by Gautama. He explains only the first six and leaves out the rest as easily intelligible in the Śāstra itself.

In reply to a question often directed against the Naiyāyika as to why Gautama did not mention the other Prameyas like Dravya, Guṇa, Karma, Sāmānya, Viśeṣa and Samavāya, our author says that in the opinion of the sage these categories do not conduce to the attainment of Final Release as the others do. The author then gives the definitions of Kaṇāda's six principal categories and their sub-varieties. The explanation of the Vaiśeṣika categories in the present work is only incidental, for there is as yet no conscious attempt to syncretise the two schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as in later works. The author then proceeds with the definitions of the remaining Nyāya categories.

The original contribution of the author consists in supplying definitions for those categories which are left undefined in the Śāstra and in giving easier definitions for those explained in it. He has taken special care to explain the purpose of each word in the definitions.

---

1. See Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya with Śaṅkaramiśra's Commentary, page 146.

The Author

The name of the author of Lakṣaṇamālā is not given in the colophon but it can be gathered from other works that this work is by Nyāyācārya Sivāditya. Śaṅkaramiśra says in his ṭikā on Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya (p. 146)—

न्यायाचार्यकृतलक्षणमालाग्रन्थे प्राथमिकं प्रमालक्षणं खण्डयितु-मुपक्रमते—तत्त्वानुभूतिरिति ।

This definition of Pramā forms the opening definition in the present work. As pointed out by Prof. Ghate in his introduction to Saptapadārthī, Varadarāja has said in his Tārkikarakṣā—

निरुपाधिकमाध्यसम्बन्धशालि लिङ्गमिति लक्षणमालायाम् etc.

This definition is seen here on page 1. There are several quotations in the Tattvapradīpikā of Citsukha considered to be from Sivāditya's Lakṣaṇamālā by Pratyaksvarūpa, the commentator on the Tattvapradīpikā; e.g.,

यानि शिवादित्यमिश्रेण लक्षणानि लक्षणमालायामुक्तानि तान्यपि निरस्तानीत्याह—तदेवमिति । तानि च आकाशवृत्तिसत्ताव्याप्यजातियोगि, क्रियासमानाधिकरणसत्ताव्याप्यजातियोगि इत्यादीनि । (Bom. edn. p. 182)

वृत्तिसंयोगासमानाधिकरणसत्तासाक्षाद्व्याप्यजातिमदिति वा शिवादित्यमिश्रोक्तानि लक्षणानि भविष्यन्ति । (p. 192)

These quotations cannot be traced in the present work as we have it. I therefore think that the work must be more extensive than what is found in the manuscript.

The date of Sivāditya is, according to Prof. Ghate, between 975 and 1025 A.D.

The present edition of the work is based on manuscript No. 612 B deposited in the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, for a transcript of which I am thankful to the authorities of that Library.

The manuscript is fair and free from errors.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ लक्षणमाला ॥

॥ श्रीशिवादित्यमिश्रविरचिता ॥

तुष्टेर्मोचयतो बन्धादतुष्टेर्बध्नतः पुनः ।
कारागारमिदं विश्वं यस्य नौमि तमीश्वरम् ॥

तत्त्वानुभूतिः प्रमा । तत्त्वेत्यतत्त्वधियां तर्कसंशयविपर्यासानान्निरासः । अनुभूतिरिति स्मृतेः । सा नित्याऽनित्या च, आश्रयभेदात् । तत्र नित्याया आश्रयः प्रमाणम् । असूत्रयच्च आप्तप्रामाण्यात् (न्या. सू. २-१-६८) इति । अभाष्ययच्च आप्तानां प्रमाणता साक्षात्कृतधर्मता (वा. भा. २-१-६८) इति । अनित्यायाः पुनः प्रमायाः साधकतमं प्रमाणम् । अनित्याया इति विषयक्रियासूचनम् । प्रमाया इति च्छिदादीनां व्युदासः । साधकेत्यसाधकानामाकाशादीनां व्युदासः । तममिति प्रमातृप्रमेययोः । तच्चतुर्विधं परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र **इन्द्रियजप्रमासाधकतमं प्रत्यक्षम्** । इन्द्रियजेति लिङ्गादीनां निरासः । प्रमेति सुखादिसाधनानामाभासानां च । साधकेत्यबुद्धिरूपकरणलाभाय । तममित्यकरणस्य निरासः । तदेतद् योग्ययोगिसाधारणम्; लौकिकमात्रस्य तु शास्त्रेऽधिकारादिति साक्षात्कारिणी प्रमा प्रत्यक्षफलमिति ॥

लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानमिति[1] । लिङ्गेति सादृश्यपरामर्शस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञानस्य लिङ्गाभासपरामर्शस्य च निरासः । परामर्श इति द्वितीयलिङ्गदर्शनस्य ततः स्मृतेश्च निरासः । लिङ्गं तु निरुपाधिसाध्यसम्बन्धशाली । निरुपाधीति मैत्रतनयत्वादीनां निरासः । साध्यसम्बन्धशालीति साध्यरहितानां धर्माणां निरुपाधीनां निरासः । अनुमितिरस्य फलमिति ॥

अकृतसमयसंज्ञास्मरणसहायं तत्समभिव्याहृतवाक्यार्थप्रत्यभिज्ञाप्रत्यक्षमुपमानम्[2] । अकृतसमयेति कृतसमयानां तथाविधप्रत्यक्षनिरासः । संज्ञास्मरणेति विस्मृतोपलब्धसंज्ञानां तथाविधप्रत्यक्षनिरासः । तत्समभि-

---

1. खण्डितमिदं खण्डने (P. 347 शाङ्करी) तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायाञ्च (P. 235)
2. किंचिद्विकृत्य लक्षणमिदं दूषितं खण्डने ।

व्याहतवाक्यार्थेति केवलसंज्ञास्मृतिमतां व्युदासः । प्रत्यभिज्ञेति तथाविधस्मरणमात्रव्युदासः । प्रत्यक्षमिति पुनर्वाक्यादेव प्रत्यभिज्ञानस्य निरासः । उभाभ्यामनुसन्धानव्युदासः । वाक्यार्थस्तु क्वचित् साधर्म्यं क्वचिद्वैधर्म्यमिति नाव्याप्तिः । अस्य फलं समयपरिच्छित्तिः ॥

वाक्यजप्रमासाधकतमः **शब्दः** । वाक्येति आकाङ्क्षाविरहिणां पदानां व्युदासः । जेति वाक्यविषयश्रौत्रप्रत्यक्षनिरासः । प्रमेति पदार्थस्मरणस्य अनाप्तवचसश्च निरासः । साधकेति फलनिरासः । तम इत्ययमसावश्च इति प्रत्यक्षनिरासः । अर्थप्रमितिरस्य फलम् ॥

प्रमाणविषयः **प्रमेयम्** । मुमुक्षून् प्रति यन्मिथ्या ज्ञायमानं साक्षादनुकूलप्रतिकूलयो रागद्वेषहेतुः तत् प्रमेयामत्येकम्, सम्यग् ज्ञायमानं यत् साक्षात्संसारबीजं निकृन्तति तद् द्वितीयम् । तच्च द्वादशविधम्, परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र **ज्ञानाद्यधिकरणमात्मा** । ज्ञानेति गुणान्तराधिकरणानां पृथिव्यादीनां निरासः । आदीति लक्षणान्तरसूचनम् । अधिकरणमिति ज्ञानस्य व्युदासः । **ज्ञानसमवायिकरणमिति** न कर्तव्यम्, ईश्वराव्यापकत्वात् । प्रयत्नवदात्मसंयोगासमवायिकारणक्रियाश्रयः शरीरनिरपेक्षोऽन्त्यावयवि **शरीरम्** । प्रयत्नवदात्मेत्यदृष्टवदात्मसंयोगासमवायिकारणक्रियासाधारण्याद् दहनपवनादीनां निरासः । क्रियाश्रय इति प्रयत्नवदात्मेश्वरपरमाण्वादिसंयोगासमवायिकारणक्रियासंयोगाधाराणां द्व्यणुकादीनां निरासः । शरीरनिरपेक्ष इति प्राणाद्यवायोर्निरासः । अन्त्यावयवीति करचरणादीनाम् । सोऽयं **चेष्टाश्रय** इत्यस्यार्थः[1] । **सर्वेन्द्रियाधिष्ठानं** शरीरमिति द्वितीयम् । सर्वेन्द्रियेत्यैकैकाधिष्ठानगोळकादिनिरासः । अधिष्ठानमिति सर्वेन्द्रियनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । **सोऽयमिन्द्रियाश्रय** इत्यस्यार्थः । यमन्त्यावयविनमाश्रितोऽर्थान् भुङ्क्ते तच्च शरीरमिति तृतीयम् । अन्त्येति करचरणादीनां व्युदासः । अवयविनमिति मतिनिरासः । अर्थान् भुङ्क्ते इति घटादीनां परमाण्वन्तानां निरासः । **सोऽयमर्थाश्रय** इत्यस्यार्थः ॥

शरीरसंयुक्तं साक्षात्कारिप्रमासाधनमतीन्द्रिय**मिन्द्रियम्** । शरीरसंयुक्तमिति इन्द्रियसंयोगादीनामतीन्द्रियाणां प्रमासाधनानां निरासः । प्रमासाधनमिति शरीरसंयोगादीनामतीन्द्रियाणां च परमाण्वादीनां विषयाश्रयाणां निरासः ॥

---

1. चेष्टेन्द्रियार्थाश्रयः शरीरम् इति न्यायसूत्रे (1. 1. 11.) इत्यादिः । एवमग्रेऽपि ।

प्रतीतिविषयतया भोगसाधनमर्थः । प्रतीतिविषयतयेति शरीरेन्द्रियादीनां निरासः । भोगसाधनमित्यात्मनः । अर्थप्रकाशो बुद्धिः । अर्थेति निर्विषयबुद्धित्वादिमतनिरासः । प्रकाश इत्यप्रतीतिरूपनिराकरणम् । सर्वात्मविशेषगुणसाधनं मनः । प्रवृत्तिदोषप्रेत्यभावफलदुःखापवर्गाणां तु सुगमानि शास्त्रे लक्षणानि । यद्यपि प्रमेयान्तरमस्ति तथाप्येतावदेवोक्तं, अपवर्गोपयोगात् । तथा हि—विधायकप्रमाणगोचरः **पदार्थ** इति पदार्थसामान्यलक्षणम् । स च षोढा, समानतन्त्रपरिसंख्यानात् । तत्र गुणवद् **द्रव्यम्** । गुणवदित्यनेनैव सकलसजातीयविजातीयनिरासः । क्रियावदिति प्रादेशिकम् । समवायिकारणमित्यपि लक्षणम् । सामान्यवानगुणोऽकर्मरूपो **गुणः** । सामान्यवानिति सामान्यविशेषसमवायाभावनिरासः । अगुण इति च द्रव्याणाम् । अकर्मरूप इति कर्मणः । आद्यविभागासमवायिकारणं **कर्म** । आद्यविभागेति द्वितीयविभागासमवायिकारणस्य प्रथमविभागस्य निरासः । असमवायिकारणमिति द्रव्यादीनाम् । नित्यमेकमनेकसमवायि **सामान्यम्** । नित्यमिति संयोगादिनिरासः । एकमिति सलिलाद्यनेकपरमाणुसमवेतानेकसितरूपादीनां निरासः । अनेकसमवायीति प्रत्येकं नित्यानां द्रव्याणाम् । एकद्रव्याः स्वरूपसन्तो **विशेषाः** । एकद्रव्या इति सामान्यसमवाययोर्निरासः । स्वरूपसन्त इति गुणकर्मणां द्रव्यस्य च अप्रसङ्ग एव । नित्यप्राप्तिः **समवायः** । नित्येति संयोगनिवृत्तिः । प्राप्तिरिति तदतिरिक्तस्येति । अत्र च अन्तर्गणिको भेदः ॥

तत्र च द्रव्यं पृथिव्यादि नवधा समानतन्त्रपरिसंख्यानात् । तत्र गन्धवती **पृथिवी** । स्वभावतो द्रवा **आपः** । औष्ण्यवत् **तेजः** । अरूपस्पर्शवान् **वायुः** । शब्दगुण **आकाशः** । परापरव्यतिकरानुमेयः **कालः** । पूर्वापरादिव्यवहारासाधारणकारणका **दिक्** । आत्ममनसोस्तु लक्षणमुक्तमत्र । एवं नव द्रव्याणि ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर्गुणाः, तत्रैव परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र चक्षुर्ग्राह्य एवार्थो **रूपम्** । रसनग्राह्य एवार्थो **रसः** । घ्राणग्राह्य एवार्थो **गन्धः** । स्पर्शनग्राह्योऽर्थः **स्पर्शः** । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये एकमित्यादिव्यवहारः सा **सङ्ख्या** । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये दीर्घमित्यादिव्यवहारः तत् **परिमाणम्** । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये पृथगित्यादिव्यवहारः तत् **पृथक्त्वम्** । कर्मविरोधी गुणः **संयोगः** । संयोगविरोधी गुणो **विभागः** । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये परमपरमिति व्यवहारः ते **परत्वापरत्वे** । आह्लादः **सुखम्** । पीडा **दुःखम्** । अनुराग **इच्छा** । असहिष्णुता **द्वेषः** ।

उत्साहः **प्रयत्नः** । पतनासमवायिकारणं **गुरुत्वम्** । स्यन्दनासमवायिकारणं **द्रवत्वम्** । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये स्निग्धमिति व्यवहारः स **स्नेहः** । यद् द्वितीयावस्था-समवेत उत्पन्नः तस्य तादवस्थ्यापादको गुणः **संस्कारः** । श्रुत्यादिविहितानुष्ठान-साध्यः पुरुषगुणो धर्मः । श्रुत्यादिनिषिद्धानुष्ठानसाध्यः पुरुषगुणोऽ**धर्मः** । श्रोत्रग्राह्योऽर्थः **शब्दः** ॥

सामान्यं सदादिप्रत्ययहेतुकं सत्तादिकम् । **विशेषा** व्यावृत्तिबुद्धिहेतवः । **समवाय** इहेति प्रत्ययहेतुः । एते षट् पदार्था ह्युक्ताः समासतः, अनन्तान्तर्गणि-कभेदेन तु अनन्ताः तत्र युक्त्या प्रतिपत्तव्याः ॥

"अयं किम् एवम्, अन्यो वा" इति विमर्शः **संशय** इति स्वरूपतः । एकस्मिन् धर्मिणि परस्परविरुद्धधर्मद्वयगोचरं ज्ञानं **संशय** इति विषयतः । विषय-ज्ञानात् परविरुद्धारोप्यस्मरणात् निर्णायकाभावादुत्पन्नं ज्ञानं संशय इति कारणतः । सामान्यतोऽप्यज्ञातायां स्थूणायां पश्चादवस्थितायां संशयो न भवतीति तद्व्युदासार्थं प्रथमं पदम् । उपलब्धेऽप्यनिर्णीते विमतिविषये परस्परविरुद्धार्थास्मृतेः नावं (?) अधिगच्छतः संशयो न भवतीति तद्व्युदासार्थं द्वितीयं पदम् । विषयोपलम्भे विरुद्धविशेषस्मरणेऽपि सति निर्णयोऽपि तरुमुपलभ्य विभ[दू]रवर्तिनो भवति [न?] तत्संशयः इति तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं तृतीयं पदम् । परस्परविरुद्धारोप्यस्मृतिस्तु कचित् समानधर्मदर्शनात् कचिदनेकधर्मदर्शनात् कचिद्वादिविप्रतिपत्तेरिति । तदेतदाह कारणत्वेन सूत्रकारः ॥

यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते तत्प्रयोजनमिति सुगमं सूत्रम् । व्याप्ति-ग्रहणविषयो **दृष्टान्तः** । स द्विविधः साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्याम् । साधनधर्मप्रयुक्तसाध्य-धर्मवान् धर्मी साधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः । साध्यधर्मनिवृत्तिप्रयुक्तसाधनधर्मनिवृत्तिमान् वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः । एतेनैवादृष्टान्ताः तदाभासाश्च निराकृताः । प्रामाणिकोऽयमिति कृत्वा अभ्युपगतोऽर्थः **सिद्धान्तः** । स चतुर्विधः परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र वचनतो द्विविधः । सर्वतन्त्राभ्युपगतो वचनतः सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्त इत्येकः । नियततन्त्राभ्युपगतो वचनतः प्रतितन्त्रसिद्धान्त इति द्वितीयः । अर्थतोऽपि द्वेधा । तन्त्रान्तरानुमेयानुषक्तसिद्धिरधिकरणसिद्धान्तः । परतन्त्रोक्तः स्वतन्त्रे चानिषिद्धोऽभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तः ॥

नान्तरीयकप्रतिपादकवाक्यैकदेशा **अवयवाः** । ते पञ्च परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र साध्यनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञेति सुगमं सूत्रम् । साधनत्वाभिव्यञ्जकविभक्त्यन्तं

लिङ्गवचनं हेतुः । धूम इत्यादिरूपस्य निराकरणाय प्रथमं पदम् । व्याप्तिवचनस्य हेतुत्वनिराकरणाय द्वितीयं पदम् । स द्विविधः साधर्म्य-वैधर्म्याभ्याम् । विशिष्टमन्वयिलिङ्गवचनं साधर्म्यहेतुः । विशिष्टं केवलव्यतिरेकि-लिङ्गवचनं वैधर्म्यहेतुः । व्याप्तिप्रदर्शनपुरस्सरं सम्यग् दृष्टान्तवचनमुदाहरणम् । व्याप्तिप्रदर्शनेति अनुपदर्शितव्याप्तिकस्य घटवदिति दृष्टान्तमात्रस्य निरासः । तदपि द्विविधं दृष्टान्तभेदात् । स चोक्तः । धर्मिणि लिङ्गोपसंहार उपनयः । साध्योपसंहारो निगमनम् ॥

व्याप्याङ्गीकारेऽनिष्टव्यापकप्रसञ्जनं तर्कः । परीक्षासाध्यमर्थावधारणं निर्णयः । साध्यव्यवस्थिते[तये] व्याहतविषयनानावक्तृकवाक्यसंदृब्धिः कथा । सा त्रिविधा । तत्र प्रामाणिकवचनमात्रवचनाभिप्रायपूर्विका कथा वादः । विजिगीषमाणयोरुभयोरपि साधनवती कथा जल्पः । सा प्रतिपक्षस्थापनहीना वितण्डेति सुगमं सूत्रम् ॥

अहेतवो हेतुवदाभासमाना हेत्वाभासा इति सुगमं भाष्यम् । ते पञ्च परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र अनैकान्तिकः सव्यभिचार इति सुगमं सूत्रम् । स च द्विविधः साधारणोऽसाधारणश्च । तत्र विपक्षवृत्तिः साधारणः । पक्षमात्रवृत्तिः विद्यमानसपक्षस्तु असाधारणः । साध्यविपर्ययव्याप्तो विरुद्धः । सत्प्रतिपक्षः प्रकरणसमः । असिद्धः साध्यसमः । स च अविद्यमान-पक्षः, पक्षे अविद्यमानोऽविद्यमानव्याप्तिक इति त्रिधा । बाधितविषयः कालातीतः ॥

अनभिप्रेतमर्थमभिमतं प्रकल्प्य अभिप्रेतविरोधनेन तदुपपादनं छलम् । तत् त्रिविधं परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र वाक्यान्तरकल्पना यत्र तद्वाक्च्छलम् । यत्र उक्तस्य हेतुत्वादिकल्पना तत् सामान्यच्छलम् । यत्र उपचरितस्य मुख्यार्थकल्पना तदुपचारच्छलम् ॥

विवक्षितवाक्यार्थव्याहत्या दूषणाभासप्रसञ्जनं जातिः । कथायां तत्त्वाप्रतिपादकं निग्रहस्थानम् । वाद्युक्ते सम्प्रत्यवस्थानं जातिः । गृह्यमाण-विशेषत्वेन प्रकरणसमत्वेन साधर्म्येण प्रत्यवस्थानं साधर्म्यसमः । गृह्यमाण-विशेषत्वेन प्रकरणसमत्वेन वैधर्म्येण प्रत्यवस्थानं वैधर्म्यसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्मवैचित्र्याद् अविद्यमानधर्माध्यारोपेण प्रत्यवस्थानमुत्कर्षसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयो-

धर्मवैचित्र्यात् प्रतीतधर्मापवादनेन प्रत्यवस्थानमपकर्षसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्मवैचित्र्याद् दृष्टान्तस्य ख्यापनीयत्वमात्रेण प्रत्यवस्थानं **वर्ण्यसमः** । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्मवैचित्र्यमात्राद् धर्मिणः ख्यापनीयत्वेन प्रत्यवस्थानमवर्ण्यसमः । साधनधर्मयुक्ते धर्मान्तरस्य दर्शनाद् धर्मिणि साध्यधर्मविकल्पेन प्रत्यवस्थानं **विकल्पसमः** । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्ममात्रहेतुतद्दृष्टान्ते यत्र अवयवानुमानप्रसञ्जनं **साध्यसमः** । हेतोः साध्यप्राप्त्या विशिष्टत्वेन प्रत्यवस्थानं **प्राप्तिसमः** । प्राप्य साध्यमप्राप्य वा इति विकल्प्याप्राप्त्या साधकत्वेन प्रत्यवस्थानम**प्राप्तिसमः** । उभयसिद्धे प्रमाणमात्रप्रश्नापरिशिष्टतया प्रत्यवस्थानं **प्रसङ्गसमः** । एकहेतुयोनित्वे प्रतिदृष्टान्तेन प्रत्यवस्थानं **प्रतिदृष्टान्तसमः** । प्रतिदृष्टान्तेन वा प्रत्यवस्थानं **प्रतिदृष्टान्तसमः** (?) । अनुत्पत्तेः साध्यकारणाभावात् साध्यविपरीतोपपत्तौ साधनाभावेन प्रत्यवस्थानम**नुत्पत्तिसमः** । असदशायां वा कारणाभावात् प्रत्यवस्थानम**नुत्पत्तिसमः** । विशेषदर्शनान्निर्णये क्रियमाणे कुतश्चित्[1] संशयहेतोः धर्मिणि साध्यतद्विपरीतधर्मसंशयेन प्रत्यवस्थानं **संशयसमः** । प्रत्यनुमानेन स्वपक्षनीत्या प्रत्यवस्थानं **प्रकरणसमः** । प्रमाणप्रमेययोः परस्परापेक्षया मूर्तापरसहभावासिद्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानम**हेतुसमः** । आभिमानिकार्थापत्तितो वाद्यभिप्रेतपक्षविपरीतोपवर्णनेन प्रत्यवस्थानम**र्थापत्तिसमः** । एकधर्मोपपत्तेरविशेषे तेन साधर्म्यादविशेषेण प्रत्यवस्थानम**विशेषसमः** । प्रकरणोपपत्तिमात्रेण प्रत्यवस्थानम**ुपपत्तिसमः** । साध्यसिद्धौ निर्दिष्टस्य प्रमाणस्य भावेऽपि साध्योपलब्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानम**ुपलब्धिसमः** । उपलब्धेरनुपलम्भाद् अभावसिद्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानम**नुपलब्धिसमः** । विकल्पपुरस्सरं विषयगतस्वरूपारोपणाभावसिद्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानम**नुपलब्धिसम** इति वा । सपक्षसाधर्म्याद् धर्मिणि सपक्षतुल्यधर्मोपपत्तेः अभिमतसाध्यसमानधर्मवत्ताप्रसञ्जनेन प्रत्यवस्थानं **नित्यसमः** । धर्मिणि साध्यधर्मस्य नित्यानित्यविकल्पनेनानुपपत्त्या प्रत्यवस्थानम**नित्यसमः** । कार्यनानात्वानुमानात् प्रत्यवस्थानं **कार्यसमः** ॥

कथायां विवक्षि[त]तत्वाप्रतिपत्तिः **निग्रहः** । प्रतिपक्षे धर्मानुज्ञा स्वपक्षे **प्रतिज्ञाहानिः** । प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात् तदर्थनिर्देशः **प्रतिज्ञान्तरम्** । तदानीमनुच्चारितायामुच्चारणमात्रतः स्वार्थद्वारेण व्याघातो **विरोधः** । उक्तप्रतिषेधे उक्तार्थापनयनमुक्त**सन्न्यासः** । अविशेषोक्तेः अवयवे प्रतिषिद्धे विशेषणान्तर-

---

1. गतं श्रित इति मातृका ।

मवयवान्तरम् । प्रकृतादर्थाद् अप्रतिसम्बन्धार्थमर्थान्तरम् । असमानसङ्केतवचनं निरर्थकम् । समानसङ्केतेनैकाभिहितं परिषत्प्रतिवादिभ्यामर्थाविज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थम् । अविरुद्धानां पौर्वापर्ययोगादेकवाक्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं यत्र नास्ति तदपार्थकम् । प्रामाणिकक्रमव्यतिक्रमेण वचनमप्राप्तकालम् । अवयवविहीनं न्यूनम्, केवलप्रतिज्ञाव्यतिरिक्तावयवहीनं न्यूनं वा । अन्यत्रानुवादाज्ज्ञातार्थस्य वाक्यस्य परिषदा एकेन अभिहितस्य दूषकप्रयोजकवतः प्रत्युच्चारणप्रागभावोऽननुभाषणम् । दूष्यविषयज्ञानानुमतिरज्ञानम् । असाधने सदुत्तरस्य अप्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा । अन्यतरनिग्रहास्फुरणे स्वयमेव कथाविच्छेदो विक्षेपः । स्वपक्षदोषाभ्युपगमात् परपक्षे दोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा । असाधने सदुत्तराप्रतिपत्तिः पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणम् । अतन्निग्रहस्थाने तन्निग्रहस्थानाभियोगो निरनुयोज्यानुयोगः । प्रदेशान्तरस्थितसिद्धान्तविरुद्धम् अपसिद्धान्तः । हेत्वाभासाश्च यथोक्ताः ॥

यस्माज्जातं जगत्कार्यं यन्निमित्तं च लीयते ।
तस्मै सर्वज्ञरूपाय नमामि परमात्मने ॥

॥ लक्षणमाला समाप्ता ॥

SAṀSKṚT AND PRĀKṚT PROSODY*

BY

PROF. V. SITARAMIAH, *Bangalore*

It is as much natural piety as devotion to scholarship that has made Prof. Velankar's pupils bring out as the first work of their series Haritoṣamālā, Jayadāman, a collection of part of the master's own work on Saṁskṛt and Prākṛt prosody. Four classics have been edited: The Jayadevacchandas; Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana; Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara and Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana. The first work has Harṣaṭa's Vivṛti printed along with it. The texts are followed by a classified list of metres called the Saṁskṛta Vṛtta Kusumoccaya and an alphabetical index called Vṛttanāmasūcī. The work has a general introduction on the origin and growth of Saṁskṛt Vṛttas (both Varṇa and Mātrā); a critical introduction to the texts; an account of the apparatus used; and a critical survey of the lists. This is a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of Prosody in India and is almost the first work of its kind: a fine record of clear-headed analysis and painstaking collection and assessment of matter.

For more than a quarter of a century now, Prof. Velankar has edited and interpreted such classics; and we owe to him the first publication of Svayambhū, Jayakīrti, Virahāṅka, Ratnākara, etc. He has said fundamental things on the Vedic and the Classical practice as well as on Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa prosody. In the critical survey of the lists he states the results of his inquiry into practice showing the total number of metres mentioned by some ten metrists and actually used by 28 Mahākavis. The incidence and distribution of each kind is indicated even as the frequency of the more popular ones. The Vṛttakusumoccaya section arranges the Vṛttas according to the number of the syllables used (from 1 to 45), gives the Trika description of them, the Yati positions in a line and the variant names of the same Vṛttas in other works. This clears much of the jungle caused by the irrationalities of parental affection in

---

* A Review-article on JAYADĀMAN by Prof. H. D. Velankar. Haritoṣamālā, 1. Poona Oriental Book House, Poona. Rs. 10.

the naming of the metres. Only a student of the subject like Prof. Velankar could do it so carefully. The results are remarkable:

"The list contains about 850 metres of which over 600 are Varṇavṛttas of the Samacatuṣpadī type. . . . It contains 33 Daṇḍakas, 50 Ardhasamacatuṣpadīs, 36 Viṣamacatuṣpadīs, and 42 Mātrāvṛttas. . . Out of this, however, a few alone were being actually handled by the Saṁskṛt poets of roughly the period between Piṅgala and Hemacandra. In a separate article (J.B.B.R.A.S. 1948-49) I have analysed metrically the Mahākāvyas of about 28 Mahākavis from Aśvaghoṣa (2nd centy.) to Śivasvāmin (16th centy.). From this analysis it has been found out that out of 60 Varṇavṛtta Samacatuṣpadīs only about 100 seem to have been used by the poets, and even out of this 100 hardly more than 25 were employed with any frequency: e.g., for the composition of a canto in a poem, while the rest were used only for a change or ornamentation"—which tells us the clear disparity between the 13-odd crores of Samavṛttas and of more than 8 crores of the Āryā of the mathematicians in chandas.[1] Those who have regaled themselves and us with the Prastāra and Saṅkhyā possibilities must be shocked at this tale of actual performance.

The history of the development of Prosody in Saṁskṛt which Prof. Velankar has given us here is now accepted in bold outline. Some of the transitions are argued into better position and acceptance. He may not persuade all yet on the Anuṣṭubh-Āryā relationship; his dislike of some of the Mātrā metres as unmusical seems to be harsh. But that the Vaitālīya, etc., are a mixed structure midway in the line of development between the Varṇa and the Mātrā kinds as well as his statement on the preferences of later poets to piece together the fossils of earlier Vedic metres into new verse-patterns are sound observation.[2] Though his division of metres into types of Svarasaṅgīta, Varṇasaṅgīta, and Tālasaṅgīta is generally a correct featuring of traits, still we feel that he should prefer the term rhythm to music. Time, of course, plays a part in all verse

---

1. "Of the Mātrā Vṛttas the mahākāvis use only about 8 and they are mostly the derivatives of the Āryā" (JBBRAS. Vols. 24-5, 1948-9, p. 51).

2. Prof. B. M. Srikantia in our parts had worked out a few of them though he did not put in anything ready for publication.

structure. And, what is not an event in time? A regular, specific succession of syllable-events in time which is a verse, has principles and patterns of duration in it, though time does not and cannot hagride prosody. Music and Metre if related closely, are still 'different manifestations' of the same phenomenon: metrical and musical rhythm and time are different elements and media. Metrical quantities are profoundly modified by the structure and sound of syllables composing words which are the medium of expression in literature. Musical sound-units are purer, more absolute and more under the control of the musician; while the time measure need not be literary or metrical, for its principle of regularity is different from time in a Tāla system;-an extra-literary, an extra-metrical category which can darken counsel and lead astray.

Only on one or two points we pray to be permitted to join in the chase: in elucidating the nature of the metrical structure, in the explanation of the Trika principle and on the Yati. In all these there still is room for a more radical reconsideration of our prosodic practice and theory.

The Vedic *Chandas* was classified according to the total number of syllables per line, the number of lines per stanza and the number of stanzas per Ṛk or section. Quantity, stress or division into Gaṇas do not find a mention in the texts. Though at first the quantities were perhaps indifferent, the tendency set in for long and short syllable preferences at fixed places and the cadence of the principal verse-modes got into fixed shape, each cadence being definitive of the Anuṣṭubh, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī lines whether of the Nyūna or Adhika kind. Neither the Avestan practice nor the Vedic is said to submit to division into the classical European dissyllabic characterisation. But the Iambic preference of the Vedic Gāyatrī-Anuṣṭubh-Jagatī[3] is noticed by all. Whole Gāyatrīs of the earlier period are mechanically di-iambic. Variation shows up early and by the time the Anuṣṭubh becomes a stanza of 2 lines of 16 syllables each with 4 four-syllable groups its character has registered a full change. When it becomes the Epic Śloka almost every rule is broken: a 5th letter could be Guru; a 6th Laghu and the old Gāyatrī and new Anuṣṭubh

---

3. Kṣemendra's illustration of the Anuṣṭubh is almost wholly Iambic: Cf. a classical 8-syllable line like Vidyunmālā —all Guru—for roll and metrical feeling.

cadences could be uniambic. Almost every type is found. It becomes a pure form with but its total number of syllables and its lilt to tell us of its individuality. The Triṣṭubh has a different history and has raised qualitatively different problems. It certainly was no wisdom of the post-Vedic periods to have discontinued free experimentation on and with it. Without entering into the discussion whether the Jagatī is an extended Triṣṭubh or vice versa or whether the Triṣṭubh itself could be called a line with the Gāyatrī plus Iamb plus a Guru (modified because of the freedom of the Yati and the constraint of the cadence) or whether the Jagatī was merely a line with 3 Anuṣṭubh Gaṇas we may still say that our metrists did not recognise any grouping of the syllables or any definite principle of rhythm.

This is strange. Sandhi resolutions were granted; nyūna and ati variants were recognised; the 3 pitches and the plutas were the soul of the recitative modes; the variation that put in as Udātta what in another Vedic school was marked Anudātta was known; there was standardisation in recitation; and still the principle of rhythm was not formulated. What Prof. Velankar calls the music of voice modulation was the function of such a rhythmic pattern or nothing. When the movement of verse was definite and in a Triṣṭubh or Jagatī an early or late yati marked off the 2 spans of a verse, and the Pragāthās experimented with combinations of different verses, with catch, refrain, links, etc., showing preferences in the combination, the principle of rhythm was fully on view almost crying out for publication. The non-recognition of this principle is a clear want even in later prosodic work. Bharata with his usual fundamental sensing of the basic factors gives us: Chandohīno na śabdōsti, Nacchandaśśabdavarjitam (XV. 40) (Cf. J.K. I. 2). He talks of Ubhaya Saṁyukti and goes on later (XV. 50—51): Śarīrāśraya-sambhūtam jihvāśrayam athāpi ca. Other writers accept Chandas as La-ga-Śaṁhitā. Still others speak of Śvāsa in connection with the yati in a line-movement; or of the Ānantarya-Saṅgati of La and Ga in Vṛttas. Almost everything is ready on hand, therefore, for formulating a general theory of Rhythm. And as the feature that defines the structure and movement of a stanza pattern an individual rhythmic expression is the only all-satisfying principle.

It is a surface analysis that led our metrists into the Trika grouping of syllables in a verse. Useful in its way as aid to one kind of measurement, its self-sufficiency and the air of finality about it conceals a basic lack of soul. How and when the 4-syllable Vedic gaṇa[4] was changed into the classical *Mayarasatajabhanalaga* is not known. When a line consists of L's and S's and they are gathered into 3 syllables per group only 8 ($3^2—1$) such are possible; and the limit of a perfect line will be 26 ($3^3—1$ or $3\times8+2$). And Pratyaya and Saṁkhyā kramas sounded the possibilities to the point of calculating what Gaṇa was where in the millionth vṛtta of, say, the 20-syllable mode. This triumph of calculation killed experiment and invention; standardised the 4-line stanza[5] pattern and set the seal on the structure of each line composed. Resolution by the Prastāra process with short for long, (or with two shorts for one long in the mātrā gaṇas) equivalenced or substituted, became a regular mode in evolving and naming the new stanzas. Nothing was left to the enterprise of the poet. This was disastrous.

---

4. Even in the Avestan the articulation of the syllables, they say, must follow a definite mode. The indication of the caesura marks the line-parts. "Allen in correction of Westphal has shown that the common ancestors of Germans, Indians and Iranians sang their ballads in a verse which consisted of 2 sharply separated members of which each had 4 ictus and 4 light syllables and each member began with a light syllable and closed with an 'Ictus', Kaegi: Ṛg Veda, p. 567.

5. Which explains why the 3 Eight's of the Gāyatrī became a stanza of 4 Sixes despite the obvious uncouthness of the movement. In this connection an inquiry deserves to be instituted into why odd-line stanzas are comparatively scarce everywhere; and why when they do occur they tend to have unequal line-length at some point or other.

When they fixed the length of a stanza as 4 lines they killed prosodic development. Extension was essayed laterally in line-lengths up to 999 syllables (!) rather than by the number of lines per stanza or for the creation of running metres like the Blank Verse. How great a loss it is can be understood by any one who has experience of other literatures than ours. When the Pipīlikā hordes invaded the line-patterns sterility was achieved.

Prof. Velankar has explained why 3 syllables were accepted as basis for the Varṇa Gaṇa grouping. After listing similar practice in 3 Guṇas, 3 Kālas, 3 accents, the 3 phases of life, etc., he comes nearest to scoring the bull's eye when he says that Pāṇini begins Bahutva with 3 and that 3 is the smallest of the large and largest of the small group of numbers.[6] One must submit that analogy is no explanation or proof. In Prosody we are dealing with specific sound-phenomena, their recognisable recurrence, their grouping for rhythm and the measurements thereof. The following could, we think, be also considered in arriving at a final explanation:—

"Two sounds set up a rhythm which will be confirmed by a third". (This is true for syllables as for mātrās; for feet as for syllables and mātrās.)

"Three is the first number at which a sequence becomes perceptible, and a sequence of more than 3 masses would,—in painting— tend to be too obvious." (H. Read, Meaning of Art, p. 64).

"The ground-rhythm of vocal utterance demands simple pulsations of two or three beats, beyond which it cannot sustain itself. Thus longer measures of 4, 5, 6 or 7 beats are tolerated only as occasional substitutions."[7]— meaning that larger units of syllables or feet would be more than a single sustained utterance, less well-knit, less integral in structure.[8] Just as a single line does not make a stanza,[9] a single syllable cannot make a gaṇa or a sufficient rhythmic movement needed to constitute a line, notwithstanding the pedantry of the later manufacturers of metrical curiosities. A syllable, simple or not, is a base-unit of articulation and the nuclear syllable seems to be the long or heavy. One more syllable,—long or short,—is needed as minimum supplement to form a foot. If the nuclear syllable be short a syllable foot with two shorts would perhaps

6. 3 is a mystic number also.

7. Could we extend it to spans also in line-structure? More than 3 is a crowd. Even 3 is sometimes more than company; yet perhaps comfortable. Note how the bulk of examples in the index range between the Gāyatrī and the 16-syllable stretches. (p. 59)

8. A Magaṇa seems slightly more than one unit. (Cp. Omond's discussion of Monopressure. P. 25ff. A Study of Metre.)

9. There be valiant ones who say it can.

be too small[10] (even as 2 mātrās do when a mātrā-valuation is imposed upon or used as basis of rhythm.)[11] They seem to need the complement of an extra-syllable to give them staying power. The other two-syllable gaṇas are what the western people call the Iamb, the Trochee, and the Spondee. Of these the Spondee is sturdily self-sufficient and capable of forming natural alliances with other successions of sound groups. The Iamb and the Trochee, — more particularly the former, — seem to need pairing because the syllables are unequal. That is possibly the reason why in the Ṛg Veda the 4 syllabic —often di-iambic— becomes featuresome at a stage; as it is, they say, in Greek which makes feet Dipodies. The smallest increment of sound to these units would be the addition of a third syllable to fix a rhythmic unit called the syllable foot of our Akṣara Gaṇa type.

What decides the case in favour or against the Trika is not whether the 3-syllable grouping is wrong but whether it is a natural and sufficient mode of conveying the rhythm and the distinctive quality of a line as the live limb of a stanza. If the number of syllables is not counted and a whole unfamiliar stanza is written through what enables us to discover the principle of the stanza structure? Only the natural spans making up a pattern; the position of the full pauses; or the phrases repeated and composed in a definite way in building up the whole: not the Trikaracanā of a line, which, at best, is a descriptive account of its composition. And, when stanza after stanza yields to another principle of analysis (e.g. Toṭaka, Pañcacāmara, Dōdhaka, Drutavilambita, Krauñcapada, Campakamālā, Svāgatā, Anavadyā, etc.) — not to speak of the commentary on many varieties of verse in Prākṛta Paiṅgala and in the Vāṇībhūṣaṇa—the validity of the Trika system as adequate explanation of structure becomes thin. Prof. Velankar who has made fundamental analysis of our verse-system and is free in his loyalties should not find it

10. The Pyrrhic is recognised in some literatures; the 2 mātrā gaṇa is tenable in Prākṛt. Note that 4's and 5's are resolvable as composites of 2.

11. The basic Mātrā gaṇas seem to be of 2 and 3 of which others, even the 4's and 5's, are compounds. One variety of 4 (equal to Jagaṇa) is near basic.

difficult to give us a more general theory of measurement. Breath movements, the tongue and the ear are the most important makers and discerners of rhythm,—impression and appearance of equivalence seeming to be enough trick or technique to organise the impulse.

The Professor mentions Gaṇa-consonances and manipulations, etc., as principles of change in the working out of new line patterns. We wish some students made a full study of why Gaṇa Maitrī and Gaṇa Vaira were noticed by our metrists. Could this phenomenon help us to explain why every foot does not mate happily with every other in sequences of movement and why cacaphony, even ugliness and impossibility of mouthing result, if they tried it.[12] Lines must be, as Prof. B. M. Srikantia used to tell us, not the offspring of Mathematics, but muse-begotten, vital and expressive, suited to the genius of the language and suited to poetic personality and purpose. There can be discordances as between these. Wreckage of this sort is strewn thick over the length of Prosodic history.

The next point almost follows from this: the character and function of Yati. When lines are full, independent sentences for sense—as they were in the earlier periods— Bharata's definition of Yati is perfect: Arthasamāpti marks it for him.[13] 2 or 4 such sentences, similar or dissimilar, made for dupling or for the caturaśra movements are used for stanza completeness. When a full line is broken into 2 equal parts of 4, 4, 5, 6 syllables as in the Anuṣṭubh, Paṅkti and Jagatī lines —original or progeny— Yati is more likely to occur at the exact middle, unless the poet is clever or inspired enough to dodge it or carry it a place or two this way or that in a line. Prosodically there is progress then. In syllable-lines which are fairly long the Yati becomes marked from the Triṣṭubh chandas onwards: longer lines having more Yatis than the shorter,—for obvious reasons. The line-length with its load and character of successive syllables needs then more than 2 or 3 breaths of

12. Even as Music becomes its opposite in the unlimited kinds of mathematical grouping in the cakras. Na śōbhām janayanti hi?

13. And that is perhaps why Bharata is among the disregarders.

spanning[14] to cover it. These can be 2 equal ones as in Paṇkti or 3 as in Sragdharā or 4 as in Mandākinī or of a different kind in Ghoṭaka. Or, the 2 spans may be of unequal length as in Triṣṭubh (4. 7 or 5. 6) or, 3 at 4. 6. 7 as in Mandākrāntā. A different principle of pairing would be that of Madakalanī I. 20—3 (5. 6. 5. 6) if Śarāṅgabāṇāṅgaiḥ can be accepted as correct description for a line of a total length of 20 syllables.

Rucirā (15) with 4, 1, 4, 6,[15]—if this be accepted as its correct description,—is obviously less prosody than recitative. In the Vedic Triṣṭubh the Yati is at 4 or 5 with freedom for the pre-yati groups while the post-yati positions, notably the last 3 syllables, are fixed; which develop later on into, say, the Śālinī, Mālinī and the Mandākrāntā cadences or where the Indravajrā final blocks go into Vasantatilakā. The place of Yati becomes important with shift in practice when as in a later classical period a line of 11 syllables or 12 gets its Yati later than at 5.[16] The principle of movement seems to change in these cases.

Without, for the time being, considering the 2 schools of metrists, one accepting the Yati and the other disregarding it and the fact that there are in regional languages metrists who put the Yati a full place after the Saṁskṛtists do and the fact that persons who say that Yati is not fixed or determinable strictly for it depends on sense, syntax, the rule of the metrists and the will or convention of the poets —there is still a phenomenon like aural felicity, Śrutisukha and Padaracanā, being violated, and a contrary one which indicts a Yati as at the wrong place. This only means that in such lines the structural Yati falls irrespective of whether a gaṇa is completed or a

---

14. Those who called the Yati, Viccheda, Virama and th Svāsasthāna all sensed its character correctly. The lines break up into their constituent parts. They rest or pause for breath at those points. Kṣemendra seems to be most clear-headed and sensitive about this as in most matters of prosodic function. He almost says that a line consists of bits of such and such syllabic lengths.

15. With 14 shorts and 1 long it is actually 3 fours and a 3 (2+1)

16. Cp. Anavasita. I. 11—21. Where is it in Svāgatā and Rathoddhatā? Or at what point is it in Vāhinī, Puṭa and Jaloddhatagati? The roll has changed totally from the Vedic ancestors.

word's natural components are respected or not. Much of this difficulty seems to us to disappear if we recognised Yati as a structural constituent, a natural and necessary part of the verse, rhythm-indicating, rhythm-determined. Also, it is not so much the reader's breath we think of as the line's own breath as it girds up to compass the period between the opening and the terminal syllable of the line before it turns in (Vṛtta) to the next. How else could we know that in one line it comes early and at another late? And how do we check up on it except by structural and articulatory reference?

Yati has another feature when certain Varṇa verse patterns in the process of movement resolve themselves more naturally into Mātrā groups. Openly here the Trika Vibhajana blows off and a new principle of relationship—in 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 or 8 mātrā groups— the 1st 2 being basic (and the 3rd slightly perhaps) and others composite of these. Many larger Vṛttas with or without an opening catch—1 L or 2 S's—break up into mātrā groups composed of them, (cf. eg. Prākṛta Paiṅgala's Gītikā or Carcarī). The definition by *najanaga* for Anṛtagati is even less satisfactory than the Prākṛt description of it with 4L, 1Ga, 4L, 1Ga. And the Vidūṣaka's Campakamālā should distress him with a *Bhamasaga*, when he desires to caper (svacchandam!) with S. II. SS. S. IIS. S. in the enjoyment of his Ōgarabhatta Rambha a pattā etc. the while strict metre could concede to him only a distich of 4-mātrā gaṇas each.

In the Mātrāgaṇa type noted as belonging to the Karṇāṭabhāṣā in Jayakīrti we may mention that at the end of each such group— true of all mātrā gaṇas generally—there is a natural beat; and out of rhythmic phrases of one or more varieties of combination of such units a metrical bar or sentence is made. This beat is at least a partial Yatisthāna though structurally the fuller Yati is felt where the phrases or spans end. Sometimes an alliteration or end-rhyme confirms this event. These beats need not integrate into establishing any Tāla aegis and if it did or could, it is not the prosodist's main consideration. As basis of singing, however, the time domain functions. The same is true of Jayakīrti's Mahākṣara, our Piriakkara. The opening gaṇa is of one type and marks itself off to be followed by 5 other gaṇas and another of a third kind (and this is said to be Niyata) closes the line. When mātrā-valuation is made of each, the whole metre could be described as a pattern of 7 similar gaṇas (usually of the middle type) closed with a line-

ending guru. Its translation would then be complete. All are entitled to their freedom. But the colour and the character, the richness and the raciness of a native mode are then altered beyond recognition and redemption.

While we are on the subject of Yati we might mention another fact that the structural Yati of a line is different from the syntactical and sense Yatis which the poet manages in his career of composition. The Yati we are considering is part of the ground-rhythm, a sort of base on which the word-music is played by a gifted artist and performer: so that practice and convention have to work within limits and caprice is not exactly operative. The Yati is a function of and an event in the integral structure of the line.

We spoke of full Yatis so far. There are shorter and more incipient rests which do not usually count though present none the less before a regular Yati and elsewhere in the line. This is like the rest of a toe or a skim of the earth for movement when a long stretch of the ground has to be covered in more than two or three steps; or like a design which is to be worked in foot movements in a dance. In an Ardhasama vṛtta a longer 1st line tends 'to pull up to itself' the shorter 2nd line making the stanza sound like a composition in two long lines, and the point at which the 1st ends shows up with a full pause.[17] It can be so even in a Samavṛtta: the movement that begins with the last span of the 1st line carries over into the 2nd until it rests at the end of it; the 3rd and the 4th repeat this exercise and make the vṛtta a unit so to say of 2 parts rather than 4. Though all along the parallel construction of the 4 lines is clearly visible there is not that close intimacy between the end of the 2nd and the start of the 3rd as there is between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd.[18] And where the meaning is carried in a non-stop run from the 1st to the last syllable of the stanza the 4 lines constitute an integral expression; line movements and caesura cooperate to produce a rich organic texture where the meaning, mood and colour almost subdue or assimilate the vehicle.

17. Even as our ṣaṭpadi can be written as a stanza of 4 lines: the 1st and the 2nd, the 4th and the 5th forming single long lines and the 3rd and 6th written as the 2nd and 4th lines. What then is a line?

18. Cp. A. B. Keith. (H.S.L. p. 417.)

It is wrong to judge line-rhythm by written symbols alone. It must be read aloud and heard giving full value to the sounds in movement.[19] Poets measure the swing with their breath or on their tongue; body, ear and blood feel and catch the pattern. No real poet counts the number of letters or writes by the short-hand tip of the Trika directive. And when one recites naturally, durations, relations and Yatis set up and are felt because they form and are registered. The Avestan lines and the early Vedic verse even, like the later verses, must have been so spoken. Even if they are called isosyllabic the reading form is fixed: some letters are not articulated fully; some are resolved into constituent sounds; and some actually change their verbal or literary shape. The accent could not have been so completely innocuous as is made out and the pitches do tell to rhythmic effect.[20] All together fix the roll and the lilt. And this is what makes it 'music'; what adjusts the extra syllables and makes do with catalexis. One feels that before it is too late lines which are in issue were recorded as spoken by the reciters and checked up for theory.[21] Reading mode—in the metrical—modifies and induces different moods and poetic feeling; even as a different rhythmic pattern is generated. There is a verse, called Vanamañjarī (22) in our Nāgavarma, or as it is called here Madirā, Latākusuma etc. (1.22-4) with 7 Bha's and a guru which is described by an 11th century poet also as an Eḍeyakkara, a Caupadike, 2 Ṣaṭpadis and so on. The description fits too. The rhythm and music of each such mode is distinct and distinguishable. What then is the metrical meaning of such a phenemenon?

The discovery and publication of Jayakīrti's Chandònuśāsana is a special benefaction to the Kannaḍa students. Generally the descriptions agree with our Nāgavarma's work.[22] There are differences, however, between the two. One wonders what original Jayakīrti followed in naming the Kannaḍa Gaṇas Rati, Madana and Śara, and their symbols

19. That is how it is born. The skeletal movement could be whistled or played on an instrument. It is a distinct, live form.

20. Prosodic analysis has been made drab and dead already without deference to all those live elements which make for the wealth of sound in movemcnt.

21. So, too, should some Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa movements.

22. Cp. The B.U.J., 1947, Prof. K. G. Kundaṇagār's article.

Ra. La. Dha. Our Jain prosodists and the Telugu writers call them Indra, Sūrya, Candra while other Kannaḍa writers call them Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. The Akṣara names are different in Jayakīrti though they have their equivalents in Saṁskṛt. Mahotsava is not true to the Kannaḍa genius because it takes a ISI. So is Ramā. Neither Ramā nor Guṇa is familiar to us. Prof. B. M. Srikantia suggested that Ela may be the yālapada in the Yakṣagānas, an old Dravidian ballad-mode sung to the accompaniment of a Yāl. Our sense of loss deepens to find that none of the writers mentioned in the work are present yet in a Kannaḍa work. Some names are new. Can Śrīpādapūjya be a variant for Pūjyapāda, the great Jain scholar, and can he have written a work on prosody from which Jayakīrti derives his names and definitions of the Karṇāṭaka Sampradāya? The example for Ṣaṭpadī does not properly indicate the 3rd and 6th lines, for they are deficient in a final Guru.

The Yati-marking could be made more uniform in the index as either for spans or for positions. And one or two corrections are indicated: E.g., I.21-3 and 4 have both the same description with Yati marked for the 4th and none for the 3rd. Nāgavarma puts it at 13; (and, is it so late as that?) Krauñcapada I.25-4 has to be fixed as between N.S., Vr.R., the commentaries and *a la* the description in the Jayadāman list. So too perhaps the Aśvalalita.

Jayadāman is a gift of substance. May it soon be possible for Prof. Velankar to print the Ratnamanjūṣā[23] and other works still awaiting publication. The analysis of the practice of the Khaṇḍa-kavis and Nāṭaka-kavis which he promises will settle once and for all the tale of Vṛttas actually used by the best practitioners of verse; while the publication of the fossil groups which become blocks for the structure of new verse in the classical Saṁskṛt days will tell us of the definite rhythmic preferences of our poets and experimenters in the far away past.

---

23. It should be interesting if only for the fact that it is said to expound the 2-syllable gaṇa-measurement. After all articulation of sound is guided by the same forces and principles among mankind and a radical analysis might take us nearer a 2-syllable structure at base.

THE XVI ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

The Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Lucknow, under the auspices of the Lucknow University. Acharya Narendradev, Vice-Chancellor of the University, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, Head of the Sanskrit Department and Dr. K. C. Pandey of the same Department were, together with Profs. D. D. Gupta and Syed Rizavi, the Local Secretaries. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Retired Professor of History and Archaeology, Madras University, was the General President of the Session. Among the Section Presidents were Prof. K. K. Handiqui, Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University, and Dr. Malasekhara of Ceylon, and among the five hundred delegates were Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman, Cultural Attache to the American Embassy in India, Dr. Yarrow of Yale, Dr. Dularey, Paris, and Mr. J. D. M. Derret of London.

II

The opening function of the Conference was held on October 3 in the Malavya Hall of the University and the proceedings commenced with the recitation of Veda in the Mādhyandina Śākhā. In a fluent and extempore welcome address, Acharya Narendradev emphasised that

> "the true history of India will be a portrayal of the life of the people as lived in institutions which they built and reared. Only a person who has no national prejudices, who is a seeker after truth, who has mastered the technique of research, who knows the laws of social change, has a view point of history and knows its methodology can do justice to the task of rewriting the history of India. A nation that has no history of its own,—which does not know itself,—has lost its soul. While all honour was due to those European scholars who showed us the way and trained many of us in methods of modern research, it would be a matter of shame if we did not recognise our obligations and equip ourselves for discharging them".

In his message to the Conference, Prime Minister Nehru said:

"We have to give a proper place in our educational system to the study of Sanskrit which contains these treasures of the past."

Pt. Govind Vallabh Pant, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, said in his opening address, that while the utmost use of modern scientific discoveries for raising the standard of living could not be over-emphasised, the neglect of oriental culture would indeed be a tragedy; pointing out that "in spite of a bewildering diversity, the process of synthesis, continuously at work, had produced in this vast and ancient land an underlying uniformity", he hoped that oriental research and studies would help to foster the growth of this cultural unity.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri made in his Presidential Address a forceful plea for the restoration of a proper place to classics in the scheme of education. It is reasonable for us, he said, to expect that humanistic studies would receive adequate encouragement from the National Government, as India would lose much and the world gain little, if we succeeded in producing an Indian replica of British or American industrialism. Contrasting the Eastern and Western outlook on life, the President said that the basic ideal of our civilization was that we should put a conscious restraint on the growth of new wants.

"Our inheritance of well founded, slowly developed codes of Satya, Dharma, and Ahiṁsā, shared still by millions of our countrymen, of religious toleration and social interdependence based on a philosophy of duties rather than of rights, are far more precious to us than anything which scientific discoveries could bestow. It has been truly said that 'progress is sure and continuous in proportion as it depends upon the principle of tradition, *i.e.*, in proportion as the gains of the past can be handed on and form a capital for advancing the operations of the future'. We have indeed a great stock of traditional wisdom to draw upon, and it is not unknown to most of you that some acute thinkers of the West like Gerald Heard, Charles Waterman and Rene Guenon turn to Eastern literature and sociology for hints towards a better ordering of their atomized, chaotic society. Our Epics and Purāṇas are veritable store-houses of worldly wisdom and social

morality expressed in a form which attracted and engaged the common man, and constitute a standing refutation of the ignorant charge that the ancient sages and scholars neglected the education of the people."

Stressing the duty that we owe to our great books, Prof. Sastri said that we

"should set about creating conditions under which a fair percentage of our youth will get the chance of studying such books directly for themselves, and imbibe our national ideals at the fountain source. Sanskrit and its literature must gain a much larger place in courses of study for the young, and in the researches undertaken by maturer minds, not only in the humanities but in the applied sciences, like medicine and astronomy, spheres in which we have ancient achievements which have been almost totally neglected and forgotten.

"India has most to gain for herself and for the world by maintaining her identity, the ethos of her own time-honoured culture, and by renovating its moorings in the basic values of Satya, Dharma, Ahiṁsā, Asaṅga and so on, which have been impaired, but by no means snapped, by generations of foreign rule; she must regain her freedom of spirit; and seek out her own solutions of her problems, material and moral, instead of running after alien models or depending too much on foreign aid. A primary pre-requisite for such vital developments is the restoration of our classics to a place of honour in our educational system, and the planning and steady pursuit of their study and interpretation in the light of present requirements. This is work which can legitimately claim a larger measure of support from our present government than from its predecessor, and it is no small disappointment to us that our efforts in this direction have as yet borne no fruit. When we last met at Bombay in November 1949 we adopted a Resolution urging the Union Government to establish an All-India Indological Research Institute at a suitable centre at an early date.

"We may not underrate the financial difficulties of government, but may point out that these difficulties do not, as they should not, stand in the way of the pursuit of schemes, scientific and technical, considered essential, and that the unceremonious abandonment of this particular

proposal bespeaks a radically unsound attitude to the important studies in which this Conference is most interested.

"The collection and preservation of ancient manuscripts is another subject that requires to be handled at the Union Government level to ensure early action and proper co-ordination of the work done in different parts of the country. A modest resolution making concrete recommendations towards the establishment of a Manuscripts Survey of India along the lines of the other scientific departments of the Central Government has remained a dead letter".

Adverting to the questions of the medium of instruction in University education and the common national language, Nilakanta Sastri observed that we should have

"no hesitation in accepting Hindi without any reservation as the national language of the future, and consequently the medium of exchange for all advanced knowledge among the Universities and States of India".

Reviewing the progress of research work at different centres in India, Prof. Sastri referred to the post-war revival of Indic studies in the West, the institution of a Sanskrit Professorship at the Teheran University, the announcement of an Indological Professorship in Indonesia, the starting of a College of Indology in the Banaras Hindu University, a similar venture in Mysore, and the continued activity of the many Research Institutes, Manuscripts Libraries and University Departments. Commendable mention was made of Dr. S. M. Katre's lexicographical undertaking at the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona, the work of the Vaidika Samsodhana Mandal, Poona, and Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala's publication "The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra." Regarding the main work of Dr. V. Raghavan at the Madras University, the New Catalogus Catalogorum, he referred to the excellent reception that its first volume evoked from scholars and said that further work had been

"steadily pursued under the competent and energetic guidance of Dr. V. Raghavan".

He continued:

"All honour to the University of Madras for having essayed this stupendous task under the impetus given by the late

Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri, whose high standard of scholarship and precision is being ably maintained by his loyal disciple Dr. V. Raghavan. But to ensure the successful completion in a reasonable time of this comprehensive and critical Bibliography, systematic recurring aid should be forthcoming from the Central and Provincial Governments, and perhaps also from the UNESCO organisation. It is necessary that such aid should be offered early to the Madras University, rather than that it should wait for an application from that body".

Bringing his address to a close, the President who is the Conference's elected representative on the Central Archaeological Advisory Board, made the following important observations on the work of the Archaeological Survey of India:

"The Conference has a vital interest in the progress of Indian Archaeology. And it views with some concern the handicaps under which the Government Department of Archaeology seems to have been functioning in recent years. Dr. Wheeler did good work in the excavation of selected sites and the training of younger men in uptodate methods of excavation but for the rest of it, he strangled epigraphy whose value for Indian history he had perhaps little chance of realizing, and conservation was totally neglected. The sphere of work of the Superintendents of Circles was unduly circumscribed and there ensued an undue centralization of excavation and publication. Publication has suffered most, because government presses which are flooded with political work have no time for academic publications, and the obstacles placed by finance and audit in the way of printing archaeological publications in private presses are said to be insuperable. Again, there is a besetting uncertainty of personnel even at the top which hampers steady planning and work. The problem of integrating the archaeological departments of former 'Indian States' with the Union Department has apparently not been faced and solved. Above all, the budget of the Department is totally inadequate; the allotment is so low as to leave little for field work of various kinds after the payment of salaries. The whole question deserves to be looked

into at expert level, not by a hurriedly imported foreigner who knows little of our conditions and requirements, but by a body of knowledgeable persons from within the country. The Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology is ready to hand for the purpose. We are glad to note that the plan of bringing into existence a National Central Museum in different stages has gained the approval of the Finance Committee of the Legislature. We hope that nothing will happen to interrupt the execution of the plan hereafter, and that in the course of a few years we shall have a Museum which will be the equal of the best National Museums of the world".

III

The Conference went into the thirteen permanent Sections and the two additional Sections for Hindi and Urdu. In the Vedic, there were 33 papers; in the Iranian, 7; in Classical Sanskrit 43; in Islamic 5; in Arabic and Persian 10; in Pāli and Buddhism 9; in Prākṛt and Jainism 6; in History 43; in Archaeology 10; in Indian Linguistics 17; in Dravidian Culture 8; in Religon and Philosophy 45; in Technical Sciences and Arts 17; and in Hindi and Urdu, 8 and 6.

In addition to Sectional meetings, there were two public lectures illustrated with slides, one of which was delivered by Mr. Khwaja Md. Ahmad, Hyderabad, and the other by Sri Krishna Dev, Patna, on the recent Mauryan excavations near Patna.

In the general assembly there were also two public symposia on the Place of Classics in the National Educational System and the Shaping and Development of the National Language. The former was presided over by the U. P. Minister of Education, the Hon. Sri Sampurnanand, and the General President, Dr. S. K. De, Pt. Venkateswara Dikshitar, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. S. M. Katre, Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya and Rev. C. Bulcke stressed the value of classics and pleaded for the provision of adequate facilities for the study of Sanskrit by all Indians. Sir Har Govinda Misra, who presided over the second symposium on Hindi, and whose address was circulated in Sanskrit, Hindi and English, laid stress on the role that Sanskrit had to play in the shaping of the Rashtrabhasha. He said:

"it is our bounden duty to introduce a study or of at least the elements of Sanskrit language and literature as compulsory subject in our schools and colleges...A compulsory study of Sanskrit alone would make Hindi live in all the non-Hindi areas in the closest bond of friendship with the other regional languages of India."

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, veteran Sanskritist of Poona, made a closely argued out case against forcibly foisting a poor bazaar tongue on a nation. This was opposed by Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya. Dr. Aryendra Sarma, a Hindi-native working in a non-Hindi area, recounted the difficulties of spreading Hindi and asked for its standardization and revision of its grammar. Dr. Baburam Saksena saw the reasonableness of the above demand and accepted that its future and new vocabulary had to be built on a Sanskritic basis. Dr. Dhirendra Varma thought that Hindi should grow to its increasing needs by itself and that efforts to bring upon it the influences of regional languages would mean its extinction. Opposing the forcing of Hindi on non-Hindi areas, Dr. Goda Varma also asked for a simplified grammar, at least for the non-Hindi areas.

In the nights, entertainments were provided for the delegates: the Jñāna Vardhinī Sabhā of the Sanskrit Dept. of the University put on boards the Sanskrit drama Veṇīsaṁhāra; staff-members of the local Morris College of Music gave recitals of Hindusthani music and Kathak dance; and the University Hindi Dept. staged "Skandagupta Vikramāditya" in Hindi.

There was an exhibition of manuscripts and paintings.

An excursion to the nearby archaeological site of Badoi had, however, to be cancelled owing to some last minute difficulty.

IV

At its concluding meeting, the Conference commended important Indian undertakings of magnitude, the critical edition of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of the Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute to the UNESCO for assistance.

The Conference reiterated its Bombay resolution and requested the Govt. of India to start a Central Indological Institute and to institute a full-fledged Manuscript Survey of India.

By another resolution the conference appealed to the Govt. of Ceylon to start a Buddhistic Academy.

The Conference congratulated the Rajasthan and Bihar Governments for starting new Research Institutes under Government auspices.

By a further resolution, the Conference appealed to the Government, at the Centre and the States to provide for Sanskrit education from the earlier stages of the school.

V

The Conference accepted the invitation of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha to hold its Seventeenth Session at Ahmedabad in 1953. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor of Linguistics. Calcutta University, was elected General President for the Ahmedabad Session. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna, was elected Vice-President, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona, and Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras, General Secretaries.

The following scholars will preside over the different sections: Vedic: Dr. Raghu Vira; Iranian: E. M. F. Kanga; Classical Sanskrit: Prof. R. D. Karmarkar; Islamic Culture: N. N. Nadvi; Arabic & Persian: M. G. Zubeid Ahmed; Pāli & Buddhism: N. K. Bhagavat; Prākṛt & Jainism: Kamta Prasad Jain; History: U. N. Ghoshal; Archaeology: Amalananda Ghosh; Indian Linguistics: C. R. Sankaran; Dravidian culture: Dr. C. Achyuta Menon; Religion & Philosophy: Dr. Mohan Singh; Technical Sciences and Fine Arts: Dr. Goetz.

VI

At the concluding session, Dr. Altekar made observations on certain necessary improvements in the working of the Conference. This is a question which has been touched upon in several Sectional Presidential Addresses, and many members too had from time to time forwarded suggestions and resolutions in this behalf. There is urgent need to make the Sections at least function more effectively. The standard of papers requires improvement and all this must be done without allowing the popularity of the Conference to suffer.

OBITUARY

SHRIMANT BHAWANRAO SHRINIVASARAO *alias* BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., C.B.E., RAJA OF AUNDH.*

Born 24-10-1868] [Died 13-4-1951

On the 6th of July of 1918, the Ruler of a tiny State in Bombay may be said, in a sense, to have made history. For, on that day, at the meeting of the General Body of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institule, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh (as he was then officially styled), announced a donation of one lakh of rupees for the preparation and publication of a critical and Illustrated edition of India's national epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Just a year ago, the friends and admirers of Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had founded a Research Institute at Poona with a view to commemorating the name and work of that great *savant*. It was then suggested that one of the literary projects which this new institute would undertake should be a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The need for such an edition, which, in the words of Winternitz, would serve "as the only sound basis for all Mahābhārata studies, nay, for all studies connected with the epic literature of India", had been felt ever since 1897. In 1904, the International Association of Academies of Europe and America actually started the work. Even some funds were collected for this purpose in Great Britain. But the first world-war put an abrupt end to this great literary enterprise. Even after the war, the work on the European edition of the *Mahābhārata* could not be re-started. So the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute decided to undertake the edition, making a fresh start. The main difficulty, as every one realised, was, of course, the money. But through his generous offer of a grant of one lakh of rupees for this purpose, Shrimant Balasaheb made it possible for the Institute to launch this gigantic and ambitious scheme. A grant of such magnitude for a single literary project from a single individual—

* The late Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh, was one of the earliest to become Life Members of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. We are thankful to Dr. R N. Dandekar, Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for this obituary note on the Rajah Saheb. V.R.

and what is more, from one of the ruling princes whose liberal inclinations, if any, notoriously lay in directions other than academic or scholarly—was, till then, a thing almost unknown in India.

But even before this momentous event in his career, Shrimant Balasaheb had established his reputation as an enlightened ruler and a discreet patron of arts and letters. A graduate-prince was a kind of novelty in those good old days. Therefore Balasaheb, who took the B.A. degree of the Bombay University in 1894, immediately attracted the attention of the people. And, on account of his manifold activities in various spheres of national life, he retained it till the time of his death. Ever since he was a pupil of Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in the Deccan College, Poona, Balasaheb had been wanting to do something for his *guru* and the subjects which he taught. He had already received regular training in painting and so he decided to exploit that training for the purpose which was so dear and near to his heart, namely, the resuscitation and popularisation of ancient learning and culture. Accordingly he painted a series of pictures depicting various scenes in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and issued them under the name of *Citramaya Rāmāyaṇa*. He had also planned to prepare, on similar lines a *Citramaya Mahābhārata*, but, when the Bhandarkar Institute undertook a critical edition of the great epic, he offered to supply illustrations for that edition. His paper on "The lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the *Mahābhārata*" (*ABORI* III, 1-34) amply testifies to the great pains which he took to make his illustrations adequately suit the high standard set for itself by the critical edition. It is neither possible nor necessary to recount here the Rajasaheb's many activities in the field of arts and letters. Suffice it to say that every good cause relating to arts and letters found in him an actively interested and generously inclined promoter. One must not, fail to refer to the most excellent Museum and Picture Gallery at Aundh, which, to the casual visitor, may appear somewhat out-of-place in a small and out-of-the-way place like Aundh, but which will, without doubt, stand for ever as an eloquent memorial to the broad culture, refined taste and inherent patriotism of Shrimant Balasaheb.

This obituary notice, brief as it has to be, cannot be said to be complete without reference to two or three other impor-

tant facets of the Rajasaheb's personality. The Rajasaheb was an accomplished *Kīrtanakāra* and had great faith in the efficacy of *Kīrtana*, which he often characterised as a glorious heritage handed down to humanity by Nārada, as a means to educate people in the art of life. Steeped in ancient lore though he was, Balasaheb—significantly enough—drew for the material for his *ākhyānas* mainly upon the inspiring history of the Marathas. Year after year he composed new *Kīrtanas* and presented them (thrice every year), in the right traditional manner to large and thrilled audiences at Aundh.

The late Rajasaheb was also the foremost protogonist of the movement for popularising the cult of *Sūryanamaskāra*, which he regarded as the easiest and the most efficacious instrument of physical culture. He claimed that this cult, which he and all the members of his family assiduously followed, combined in itself both *svārtha* and *paramārtha*. For, while helping the body to develop on proper lines, the *Sūryanamaskāras*, on account of their intrinsic religious value, also contributed towards the ennobling of the spirit. Indeed Balasaheb had made the propagation of this cult almost his life's mission. Whenever an opportunity came in his way, he—and sometimes also his devoted consort— exhibited by means of actual demonstration or of film shows, the great advantages accruing from the *Sūryanamaskāra*.

It must also be pointed out that Shrimant Balasaheb was the first Raja to introduce full responsible government in his State. He further believed that the economic uplift of India depended mainly on rapid industrialisation. In his own way, therefore, he encouraged such industrialisation. The present huge industrial establishments of Kirloskars and Ogales owe not a little to the foresight and active interest of the late Rajasaheb. But he did not neglect agriculture and cottage industries. He was a staunch advocate of *Swadeshi*—indeed to such an extent that he insisted that the food and clothing which he used should be produced in his own state. Spread of education among his people and reforms in educational methods may be said to have been almost his ruling passion. The progress achieved by the Aundh state in this respect was perhaps far in advance of any province in British India. It was the Rajasaheb's great good fortune that, in all his reform measures—political, economic and educational—he was ably supported by

his gifted son, Appasaheb (who is now the Indian High Commissioner in British East Africa).

When, therefore, Shrimant Rajasaheb passed away at Bombay on the 13th April, 1951, at the ripe old age of 84, it was no wonder that all people, who knew him, sincerely mourned the loss of an enlightened and progressive ruler, a patron of many literary and cultural movements, and, above all, a patriotic Indian. But the grief of his own subjects in Aundh can only be imagined, for, of him it can be most appropriately said:

स पिता, पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ।

R. N. D.

P. S. VISVANATHA AIYAR, M.A., I.C.S.

10-1-1906] [21-11-1951

The demise of Sri P. S. Visvanatha Aiyar of the Indian Civil Service in the terrible air-crash near Calcutta on 21-11-51 is a loss to the Government of Madras as well as to the world of scholarship. Sri Visvanatha Aiyar was young, enthusiastic and full of promise of distinguished service in many departments of administrative and cultural activity. He was at the time of his tragic, untimely death Director of Controlled Commodities in the Government of Madras. He was a Life-Member of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, and was actively connected with cultural institutions in the city like the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy and the Madras Music Academy.

Born in a family devoted to Vedic lore, Sri Visvanathan graduated from the Presidency College with a distinguished Honours Degree in English Language and Literature, and after a brief period of service as Lecturer in English at Noble College, Masulipatam, he passed the I.C.S. examination and joined the Civil Service in 1931. He served as Sub-Collector, District Judge and Secretary to Government in Education and other Departments in Madras. The *steel frame* was silken in his case, and among members of that Service, he was exceptionally uniform, simple, friendly and helpful in his conduct. He possessed remarkable integrity of character. His scholarly or administrative qualities are only part of his versatile attainments; he was a keen sportsman in hockey and a champion

in table tennis, and had only recently toured England and Europe as leader of the Indian team in the latter game.

Oriental Colleges cannot forget his helpfulness when he was Secretary to the Education Department. He was, by equipment and inclinations, made for education and arts and work in the cultural sphere. He was very good in Sanskrit, and able to express himself very well both in prose and verse in that language. He had a linguistic bent and while in service in Orissa mastered the local language and tribal dialects. During one of my leisurely visits to him before his last European tour I found him wrestling with Avestan grammar. He was proficient in the theory of Carnatic music and understood well the technique of Bharata Natya. During his recent visit to England he spoke at the London School of Oriental Studies on certain aspects of Vedic recitation, and was just thinking why he should not change over to the professorial line and devote himself wholesale to research.

V. R.

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

9-7-1890] [29-8-1951

In the demise of Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, the world of Indian scholarship has lost a senior historian who was an authority on the modern British Period. To all appearances the late Professor was hale and healthy, and quite active, having returned on the eve of his sudden death from a visit to Mysore where he was to accept a Professorship of History. His passing away was thus sudden and unfortunate.

The late Professor was born at Chidambaram on July 9, 1890. He graduated from the Madras Pachayappa's College with a I class in History and Economics and took the M.A. Degree in 1912 with his Thesis on the History of Gingee, which was later rendered into French. He then served the Pachayappa's College as Professor of History for about twenty-one years, coming in the wake of his own uncle there, Prof. K. Ramanujachariar, and then as Head of the History Department for about fifteen years at the Annamalai University. After retirement he was successively Principal of two new Colleges at Sivaganga and Kanchipuram.

The late Professor met with recognition and honour from all quarters. The then Government made him successively

Rao Sahib, Rao Bahadur and Dewan Bahadur. In the scholarly field, he presided over the 1941 Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress, and before that he had presided over the Sections in that Congress as well as the History Section of the Oriental Conference (1940). He was an Honorary Member of the French Historical Society, Member of the Historical Records Commission and Convener of the Regional Survey Committee of that Commission. He had been invited for special lectures in other Universities and at the Madras University, he had successively lectured under all the foundations in history, leading upto the Sir William Meyer Lectures. He was editorially connected for long with the Journal of Indian History and the Educational Review.

Among his more important writings are: Indian Culture in Funan and Cambodia (JOR, Madras); History of India (in 3 Vols. in collaboration with Prof. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar); Further Light on the Pañcamahāśabda (AIOC VII); Pre-Dravidian, Proto-Dravidian and Pro-Dravidian (JBORS, Patna, XXIV); History of the City of Madras; Anandaranga Pillai, the Pepys of French India; the Inwardness of British annexations in India (Sir William Meyer Lectures); Selections from Orme Mss.; An Advanced History of India—British Period; Tamil Letters from the National Archives; and Ft. William-India House Correspondence, Vol. IV; (the last four being under print).

V. R.

BOOK REVIEWS

Oriental and African Studies Presented to L. D. Barnett (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. XII, Pts. 3—4) 1948.

Lionel David Barnett was born in 1871 and had started his literary work in his teens. He was a classical scholar before he became the distinguished Orientalist that he is now, and quite a good number of works pertaining to Greek and Roman history and literature stand to his credit. In Indology he has indeed been a versatile scholar, covering literature and philosophy, philology and epigraphy, and exposition, editing and cataloguing, all with facility and excellence. There is no end to the number of critical notices of works of research which he has written. He was for long Keeper of the Oriental Section of the British Museum, Sanskrit Professor at the London University and Professor of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, London School of Oriental Studies, Librarian and Editor of the Bulletin at the latter institution, and having retired, still continues to work in his old library at the British Museum. It is but fitting that his friends and colleagues dedicated a special issue of the Bulletin of the L.S.O.A.S. in his honour.

The Volume gives a bibliography of Barnett's writings. Besides Indology, we find in this Volume contributions on Turkish, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Sogdian, Burmese, Malay, Fijian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese language, literature, religion, philosophy and history.

Among the Indological papers are the following: H. W. Bailey's edition and translation of a Kotanese ms. from the Stein collection, containing two letters. An introductory note and translation by V. Minorsky of the portion in Gardīzi's Zayn al-akhbār dealing with India; Gardīzi's chapter on India is based on the lost work of Abū 'Abdallāh Jayhānī, who himself drew upon the text of Ibn Khurdā dhibih, at the bottom of all which is the information brought from India by the agent sent by Barmakid Yaḥyā ibn Khālid (*c.* 8C0) to collect Indian medicinal plants and knowledge about Indian religions; accordingly the account of Gardīzi concerns itself with Indian social organisation, accomplishments, religions, sects and

literature. R. L. Turner's Indo-Arica II where he shows the survival of Indo-Aryan **prabda*=Av frabda in Panjabi pabb. m. meaning 'forepart of the foot'. Sanskrit *Rajas* by T. Burrow, which discusses the semantic relations of that word and suggests the root *lag* as the possible source of *raj* to explain all the meanings of the word. W. Stede's Self and its Complications, which analyses certain issues of spiritual endeavour and salvation in Hinduism and Buddhism; making this analysis on the basis of certain key-words, Ātman, Karman, etc., the writer observes here: "We must never forget that those figures which go under the names of Indra, Varuṇa, Brahmā, are not figures of speech, but real embodiments of living forces moving on the divine stage of the world's drama. We who live in an age of crippled imagination see these personages under a coating of scientific white-wash and think of them as abstractions devoid of life. To the Hindu and the Buddhist, however, they are not fictions, but live and have their being with and among the people in whom they are interested. Our historical understanding is one-sided, and in our investigations we are too prone to look at the co-existent as consecutive and to judge that which is independent as dependent, the inter-related as casually related, and facts as results rather than as symptoms. Life and nature are multi-principled, and logical opposites need not be opposites in reality." Alfred Master, who has an extensive study on Paiśācī in JRAS, 1943, edits here and explains a Paiśācī passage figuring in the Kuvalayamālā. John Brough edits a text bearing on Nepalese Buddhist ritual, found in the Hodgson mss. in the India Office. Hindu law rarely figures much in research and it is interesting to find here a paper by S. G. Vesey-Fitz-Gerald on the Cognate Collaterals' Succession according to Mitākṣara and Dāyabhāga, wherein ideas "which have a curiously up-to-date appearance are sometimes found". A. L. Basham suggests that the Nagnāṭas at whose instance or through whom King Harṣa of Kashmir (1089-1101) carried out his iconoclastic depredations according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī were some heretical sects like Ājīvikas of Dravidian South, as against the Turuṣka or Islamic suggestion of Stein, but there is no evidence of such a sect in the South and its activity in Kashmir at this time. Like Dara Shikoh, Akbar too was greatly attached to the Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha of which he had a translation made; a copy of this translation belonging to the

Imperial Library, dated December 1602 and bearing also the signature of Shah Jehan on the first page, and now in the Chester Beatty Collection is a treasure from the point of view of Indian art, because it carries a number of fine miniature paintings of the court painters; J. V. S. Wilkinson reproduces here, along with a note, eight illustrations from this illuminated manuscript.

V. RAGHAVAN

NEW PERIODICALS.

Recently a good number of Journals devoted to detailed research in Indian subjects as well as to the elucidation of cultural matters of the East in a more general and popular manner have been started, both in India and abroad. The ventures are to be welcomed, indicating as they do the resumption of cultural activities after the war and the severities of the immediate post-war years.

I

MEDIAEVAL INDIA QUARTERLY is being published by the Department of History of the Aligarh Muslim University and is devoted to a special study of the mediaeval period of Indian history. The inaugural number which appeared in July 1950 opens with an article by the late lamented Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari on the events leading to Nasir Jung's death studied afresh; but the article takes no note of the material in the Sanskrit Campū on Ānandaraṅga Pillai of Pondicherry. Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi of Aligarh University deals with the Mahdavi movement in India; Mahdavis are the so-called 'deliverers' who come to a front in times of political and economical difficulties and the paper deals, at length, about one of the Mahdis who chose to work only in the spiritual field, Syed Muhammad of Jaunpur. Dr. Riazul Islam has made an elaborate study of the age of Firoz Shah when cultural activities were particularly prominent and siginificant; Maulana Abdul Aziz Dehlvi "translated a Sanskrit work dealing with eclipses". "Another Sanskrit work, found in the Jwalamukhi temple at Nagarkot dealing with natural sciences was translated into verse by Azzudin Khalid Khani and was named Dalil-i-Firoz Shahi. The same person translated another book on music". "There were a number of Muslim scholars of Sanskrit language". Prof. M. L. Roy Chowdhury Sastri of Calcutta University writes about the Indian Somanīya cult prevalent

in Muslim lands and the importance of the Navavihāra (Buddhist?) temple in Balkh and its part in the importing of Indian culture and sciences to Abbasid Caliphate. It appears to us that the Somanīya cult mentioned by Alberuni as current in Somnath is to be identified properly as the Somasiddhānta, one of the Śaiva sects. Among other contributions on the Muhammadan period are a study and edition by Messrs. Hasan Ali Khan, S. A. Rashid and Dr. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor of the Saugor University, of the Tawarikh-E-Daulat-E-Sher Shahi, a fragment of which was discovered by Prof. Rushbrook Williams in Bhopal.

The Second Number of the Journal (Oct., 1950) carries articles, communications and editions of source-materials. Prof. Mohammad Habid's paper treats of the Indian Islamic mystics, their classes and the Chisti group and the political contacts of some members of this last group. A similar article is contributed by Mr. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami on the political pre-occupations in which were involved some members of the mystic saints of the Shattari class whose faith however enjoined the cultivation in renunciation, contentment and seclusion, of the cult of love and rapture. Dr. Salatore draws attention to the acts of patronage to Hindu Dharma standing to the credit of Tippu Sultan.

II

THE JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI. The young Gauhati University is peculiarly fortunate in having a scholar of the type of Prof. K. K. Handiqui as Vice-Chancellor. Prof. Handiqui, Professor of Sanskrit and a scholar in Modern History, Classical Philology, French and Italian, is also one of the educational benefactors of Assam, having donated Rs. 11,000 for the cause of Science in that University.

The Gauhati University Journal, published under his aegis is for the present an Annual, but it is hoped that it will soon appear twice at least a year, or separately for Arts and Sciences.

The two numbers now issued contain a good amount of useful material. B. Kakati collects the stories of the Fish and Tortoise Deities; the references here to Minākṣī of Madura are not correct. B. K. Barua has a paper on Sorcery in Assam, with which the Tantric cult and literature are also connected,

Maheswar Neog's article on the Bhakti cycle of Assamese Lyrics: Bargīts and After, is valuable for the study of both the devotional movements and history of music. Of similar interest is S. N. Sarma's contribution on Assamese commentaries and versions of the Gītagovinda. Education and teaching as reflected by that classic of early popular Sanskrit education, the Hitopadeśa, is analysed in detail by D. C. Das Gupta. In his short note on the background of Buddhism, Nalinaksha Dutt rightly emphasises the Upaniṣadic links. D. C. Sircar draws attention to an epigraph of A. D. 592 for an early instance of writing fractions.

The Second Number opens with the addresses at the first Convocation of the Gauhati University by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Governor of Assam, H.E. Jayaramdas Daulatram, and the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Handiqui. A mass of data has been gathered by Kakati in his effort to understand the moon-myth basis of the Rāsa dance and the probable antecedents of Rādhā. Under the title "Maṅgala Lyric", Sukumar Sen makes a dramatic analysis of the Gītagovinda; while it is certainly useful to make a collection of Gītagovinda Mss. and find out the extent of interpolation in the verses, it is clear that many of them are genuine and are a necessary part of the framework of Jayadeva's composition. P. K. Gode continues his study of the history of Tāmbūla, this time taking note of some beliefs relating to the ingredients. S. N. Sarma's long survey of the Satra institution of Assam is important for the study of the devotional movement, and of the Bhajan and Sankirtan tradition. M. Neog expatiates on the social and political implications of two Assamese ballads. D. C. Das Gupta follows up his study of ancient Indian education by an analysis here of Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtras. There are also briefer contributions on Universal religion, Tragedy, etc.

It will be seen that the Journal is the medium of a vast amount of research pertaining to one of the provinces of India which is particularly rich in religious, linguistic, and anthropological material.

III

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, Maharaja Sayaji Rao University of Baroda, Baroda. Edited by G. H. Bhatt, Ag. Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Annual Subs. Rs. 15.

In the history of Oriental research in the last three and a half decades, the Gaekwad Oriental Series has rendered outstanding service. Its publications, numbering 115 now, have been marked not only for excellent print but also for intrinsic value and critical editorial work. Prof. G. H. Bhatt, the senior-most local Sanskritist, who has succeeded to the Directorship after Dr. B. Bhattacharya, brings an immense enthusiasm to the work, and his office has coincided with the new organisational set-up under the new University named after the great Ruler, Sayaji Rao, to whose personal zeal for promoting Indian cultural studies, the Oriental Institute itself owes its origin and sustained work. Prof. Bhatt has also announced for the future continuous work of the Institute the project of a critical Rāmāyaṇa edition, following the example of the Bhandarkar Institute. The second venture of Prof. Bhatt is the present Journal of the Institute, which made its appearance in September 1951. The Journal is printed very well and in excellent paper.

The first issue of the Journal, though comparatively slender in size, carries a large number of contributions, which cover a wide field. Besides a few touching the Rāmāyaṇa, there is also, at the end, an edition of a minor anonymous work called Tāmbūlamañjarī on the medicinal value of the Betel-leaf, and reviews, resume of contents of other Oriental journals, etc.

Prof. H. R. Kapadia cites from Jain literature three instances of the vain display of scholarly attainments on the part of scholars; many such can be cited from South Indian literary history. Canvassing the question whether Śrīkṛṣṇa's family was Solar or Lunar, Prof. D. R. Mankad points out the untenability of the theory of the foreign origin of the Yādavas and offers a reasonable explanation of the name 'Hari-vaṁśa' given to Kṛṣṇa's line. Corresponding to the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas in Brahminical epics and purāṇas, Buddhistic works too speak of the thirty-two marks or 'Narendra-cihnas' on the Buddha's body; Dr. V. S. Agrawala notes these from one of the texts recently edited by the late Johnston, Ratnagotra-vibhāga. Dr. G. V. Devasthali's detailed study of Mīmāṁsā and Śābarabhāṣya is represented here by a brief notice of Śaṅkara's indebtedness to Mīmāṁsā. Mm. Mirashi presents new epigraphical evidence and shows Dantidurga as the founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa imperial power. Prof. Gode's paper in

this Journal continues his study of the plant Aśvabalā, on which he wrote in the Bharatiya Vidya; Sri B. C. Deb of Calcutta also continues the same study. Dr. H. Goetz reproduces some of the early sculptural representations of Kṛṣṇa's sports and discusses the antiquity and history of these legends. Mr. P. C. Diwanji's article on questions of Textual Criticism and Dr. Subba Rao's social gleanings relating to the age of Kālidāsa based on the Mālavikāgnimitra remain to be concluded. Jīvantasvāmin referred to in early Jain literature is very scarce in iconography or sculpture; Sri W. P. Shah reproduces and describes a unique image of this pre-renunciation form of Mahāvīra. Dr. M. R. Majumdar writes about infiltration of Persian words in Indian languages. Sri M. R. Nambiar notices a ms., Rāghava's Kārikās on Kāraka called Vibhaktyarthapradīpikā. Jñānagītā of Naraharidās, a Vedāntic poet of Gujarat, is an unpublished work and Sri Y. J. Tripathi of the Institute has a note on its ms. in the Library.

Originally it was believed that this Journal was to be started exclusively for the study and elucidation of Rāmāyaṇa problems; this was perhaps not possible; however, the issue carries a good number of contributions relating to the Rāmāyaṇa and the opening of the new Rāmāyaṇa Department in the Institute. Mm. P. V. Kane considers the well-known question of Rāma's horoscope, particularly in relation to the events in Rāma's life; Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya studies Yamaka-alaṅkāra in the Ādikāvya; Rev. C. Bulcke traces the evolution of the details of the episode of the repudiation of Sītā; and Dr. B. J. Sandesara describes a 13th century hymn on Rāma by Someśvara.

IV

VOX ORIENTIS. Edited and published by Dr. Asghar Azizi, 31, Sieveringer Strasse, Vienna 19, Austria.

World War II has seen the dawn of a new age of freedom and progress in the whole of the Oriental world. The Orient, as the Editor aptly describes it in his explanatory note in this new Journal, is the "Gate to Wisdom" and it is the aim of this Journal to give to the Occident interpretations of the different countries of the Orient by the nationals of those countries themselves; "thus they will eliminate misunderstandings created by incompetent people". The Journal is multilingual and in the first two Numbers received by us, the

following contributions may interest our readers: Indian Music Today by Dr. V. K. Narayana Menon; obituaries and appreciations relating to Sri Aurobindo and Gandhi; Ancient and Modern Iranian Music in relation to Popular Tradition by Dr. Mehdi Barkechli of the Teheran University; Cultural Renaissance in New India by Humayun Kabir; and the Indonesian Language. The journal is intended for popular reading and devoted to presentation of both cultural and economical aspects of the life of the people of the Orient.

V

ASIA. Edited by Rene de Berval. (Jt. Editor: Jivan Bharakar). P. B. 79, Saigon, Viet-Nam.

Rene de Berval of Saigon has already placed on firm footing his French Journal France-Asie and has now come forward with his new venture in English, the Asia, a cultural quarterly Review. The aim of the Asia is best described in the words of the Editor himself:

"ASIA is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Far-Eastern countries. Published quarterly ASIA is a non-official review whose sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Far-Eastern world with their own cultural and philosophical problems.

"It need hardly be said that there is no excuse today for anyone to remain unaware of the vast legacy of Asia to the common cultural and spiritual heritage of the world, and to ignore the immense developments that are today so rapidly transforming the East. To describe these achievements and to interpret these developments in the wider sphere of our own day and age will be the constant endeavour of the editorial board of ASIA.

" Beginning from April 1951, ASIA will endeavour, by means of editorials, essays, articles and notes, both critical and documentary, to present to the world a symposium of Eastern art, religion, philosophy and thought, without flourish and without condescension. Representative authors from every country and authorities on every aspect of Asian studies are being asked to contribute articles to ASIA, and it is hoped to present in each issue outstanding features of Asian life, past and present."

The inaugural Number opens appropriately with Lin Yutang's 'Gandhism as I understand it'. Georges Lebrun has a study on the beliefs and religions in Vietnam, and Dr. J. A. Martinie on Chinese Buddhism. In the second Issue Rene Grousset of the Academie Francaise writes about what history teaches about mankind and Ram Linssen about Buddhism and modern science, but taking his stand on Indian Vedānta in general and not on any particular school as such. Dr. Pierre Huard has started an elaborate account of Teeth-blackening in Eastern Asia and Indo-China and B. D. Aimy of the Moon in Vietnamese literature. About 50 pages are devoted to a homage to Sri Aurobindo, in which tributes and expositions figure. Every Number carries also articles on the history and culture of Viet-Nam, as also a classified review of cultural activities in the different countries of Asia, and notices of publications.

The Editor's wide cultural interests have a real philosophical foundation, and it is hoped that his efforts in the task of "a revaluation of sentiment and of language" in our own iron age of material dialectic will bear fruits.

VI

East and West. Instituto Italiano Per il Medio ed Estremo Orient. Director Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. Rome.

The veteran Orientalist Dr. Giuseppe Tucci needs no introduction to the Indian scholarly world. Under his direction has begun to function in Rome the Italian Institute of Middle and Far East, where nearly a hundred students study oriental languages and literatures. The Institute has started also the present quarterly Review for the greater understanding of the two parts of the world, the Occident and the Orient and the building up jointly of the peace and happiness of humanity. In a brief but thoughtful Foreword, Tucci says, "Malignant barriers of misunderstanding, built by men, have divided the world...Little consideration is.......given to those conquests of an everlasting nature which all peoples in all times have made......We believe that all persons having at heart the destiny of the world must, in a certain way, compensate the destructions caused by contrasting interests and politics, badly understood or wrongly put in practice. The people must stretch a friendly hand to their fellow creatures, they must find a meeting ground of understanding because the road leading to love has one starting point: mutual understanding. It is

with this end in view that we have begun editing the Review 'East and West'".

The First Number of this valuable periodical opens with an appropriate summary of Orientalist activity in Italy in the last ten years, mentioning with deserved emphasis the work of Dr. Tucci in the field of Tibet and Buddhism. Mario Bussagli gives a brief account of the archaeological aspect of Asiatic contacts with Italy, drawing attention to the Sanskrit and Tamil words in Latin and the Indian statue found in Pompei excavations. More significant is J. Evola's contribution on what Tantricism means to modern western civilization.

The Second Issue opens with a sketch of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa by Tucci. Madanjat explains how Indian art forms and those of European Renaissance are one in content though different in form. It is sad to read here of one of our major losses during the war-time in the demise of the distinguished Italian Orientalist, Carlo Formichi; from his papers, a hitherto unpublished brief survey of Indo-Italian cultural relations during the middle ages and the renaissance is here published together with a biographical note on the late *savant*.

In the Third Issue, Martino Mario Moreno writes on Religion and Beauty in the Eastern and Western middle ages. There is an account of Vivekananda by Massimo Scaligero.

In Vol. I, Pt. 4, there are two articles on Indian art, one by Mario Bussagli on aspects of the ancient art of India and the Mediterranean and the other on the dominance of the Circle-idea in Indian art.

The Second Volume opens with a tribute to Sri Arabindo. Writing on the liberating influences of the traditional east, J. Evola stresses the value of the traditional East and traditional West as it was before secularisation and rationalism set in, and warns the East against the present tendency of 'rushing at a disconcerting pace towards a stormy and chaotic period', and calls upon it 'to resist spiritually and hold its ground.' The issue carries also Tucci's review of a number of Indological publications.

Vol. II, No. 2, carries among others an article on Rome and Eastern Asia by Luciano Petech, one on Gothic Forms of ancient Oriental art by Mario Bussagli and Tucci's notes on

some of the latest Indological works. All the contributions are brief and suitably illustrated.

V. RAGHAVAN.

SIDDHA-BHARATI OR THE ROSARY OF INDOLOGY. Ed. Vishva Bandhu. Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1950. In two parts, pp. xxx+266, 345. Rs. 60.

Honouring scholars has a hoary tradition in India. Kings, learned in themselves and presiding over an assembly of scholars, accorded due patronage and bestowed rewards and distinctions on outstanding scholars of the realm. In the modern world this function has been taken over by the Universities and other learned bodies. The practice was also not unknown in ancient India of fellow-workers in the field expressing their approbation of distinguished services by a presentation of a collection of their contributions. Kavīndracandrodaya is such a collection of adulatory verses by scholars and admirers presented to the famous Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī who had the religious tax jeziya rescinded by the Mughal emperor Shah Jehan; Nṛsimhasarvasva is another such collection presented to the great Vedāntin of Banaras Nṛsimhāśrama Yati. The modern corollory to this age-old tradition is the Commemoration Volume with which the friends, colleagues and admirers of a distinguished scholar honour him for the meritorious services rendered by him in the field of learning. The book under review is such a volume presented to one of the leading Sanskrit scholars and linguisticians of modern India, Dr. Siddheswar Varma of Lahore, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in November 1947.

This volume contains 108 contributions from Indian and foreign scholars on a wide variety of topics, and has been issued in two parts, the first comprising Philological studies, Vedic and Avestic studies, and Other Literary studies; and the second, studies in Philosophy and Religion, studies in Literary History, studies in General History and Miscellaneous studies. It would be too long an enumeration to make even a mere mention of the titles of the more important papers, many of which are interesting and break new ground in the subjects dealt with.

The careful editing of the varied material comprising the volume deserves special commendation. Every article has been critically read, and every textual citation or reference

thoroughly checked and verified. Entire uniformity has been adopted in the matter of abbreviations instead of leaving it to the idiosyncrasies of each individual author. A variety of types have been used to mark off distinct categories of material, and scriptorial uniformity has been maintained in quotations. Papers have been classified and arranged, and not printed without any order or merely in alphabhetical sequence. Above all, a general index has been prepared and given at the end, which would prove of much help in using the volume.

There is given at the beginning of the first part, an account of Dr. Varma and his writings; but the account is all too brief; one would naturally wish to learn in greater detail the Doctor's life and his varied literary activities. The get-up and printing leave little to be desired and justify the high price of the book.

K. V. SARMA.

ULLOOR COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Research Association, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, 1951, pp. xii, 194. Rs. 3.

Mahākavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar (1877-1949) was the doyen of Malayalam studies for the last three decades or more. His contributions to that literature, especially in the fields of poetry, prose and literary research have been outstanding. The author of a Mahākāvya, 17 khaṇḍa-kāvyas and numerous lyrical pieces, more than ten prose works and numerous articles of literary, cultural and historical importance in Malayalam and English, and the editor of about a hundred ancient Kerala works, big and small, in Sanskrit and Malayalam, Ulloor has been the dominating figure and most prolific writer of Kerala during our century. His *magnum opus* is a comprehensive history of Kerala literature in seven volumes, undertaken for publication by the Travancore University, a synopsis of which is in the present volume. It is most proper, therefore, that the Research Association of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the Travancore University with which the late Mahākavi was connected, undertook to pay their homage to the memory of this scholar in the form of the sheaf of commemorative essays reviewed here.

The volume contains about fifty articles, half of which are reminiscences of the poet, and his life and writings.

The reminiscences by Malloor, Puthezhathu Raman Menon and P. Sankaran Nampyar are specially interesting and reveal some of the noble traits of Ullor's literary life. The close and intimate relationship that existed between Ulloor and his royal patron, Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampuran as dealt with by M. R. Balakrishna Warrier is enlightening. Two posthumous articles by Ulloor find a place in this volue, one an excerpt from his History on the 'young bard' of Kerala, Changampuzha, who passed away at an early age, and the other on the late veteran Sahityapanchananan P. K. Narayana Pillai. A short bibliography of the writings of Ulloor is also given at the end of the volume.

Other articles here are on diverse subjects, literary criticism and research, archaeology, Indian culture, social problems, etc., of which special mention may be made of the "Origin of metres" by Kuttikrishna Marar, "Date and authorship of Rāmāyaṇam Kathakali" by Dr. K. Goda Varma, "Alexander Pope" by Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, and "Nalabāhukam", investigating a new approach to the problem of the identity of the popular Malayalam poet Kuñcan Nampyār with Rāmapāṇivāda, author of the mahākāvya Rāghavīya and other works in Sanskrit, by K. R. Krishna Pillai.

The volume is satisfactorily got up and contains four half-tone blocks of the poet. A correlation of the Contents page and the articles in the volume, and the printing of the title of the respective article and its author on the tops of pages uniformly would have much facilitated the use of the volume. The Research Association deserves the gratefulness of the Malayalam-reading public for compiling and publishing this volume perpetuating the memory of Ulloor, the great scholar of Kerala.

K. V. SARMA

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE. By Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.LITT. Madras, University of Madras, 1951, pp. ii, 224. Rs. 8.

The University of Madras has just published this thesis which won the Sankara-Parvathi Prize in 1941 and the author Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology at the University points out in his Preface that "the book is calculated to serve as a supplement" to his study of

Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar which was issued by the University in 1940. This attempt to present the main currents of economic life in the Vijayanagar Empire is quite welcome because while our knowledge of the political history of our land has grown fuller and more definite in recent times our understanding of life and labour in the past has remained meagre and sketchy in the extreme. The economic history of a realm stretching over the greater part of South India and covering a period of more than three hundred and thirty years is not easy to write. The bibliography and the footnotes show conclusively that Dr. Mahalingam has made full use of all the available material and in his six chapters and eighteen sections he has set forth in orderly array the facts that are certain and the conclusions that are most probable. The economic historian of our country or any large part of it in the pre-British period is greatly handicapped by lack of data as well as by absence of specialised monographs dealing with small regions, short periods, or particular varieties of economic activity. The short or long chapters devoted to economic matters in our political histories suffer from and reflect these handicaps. Dr. Mahalingam must be congratulated for having overcome the difficulties to a considerable extent and presented the outcome of his patient researches in a separate work covering the economic organization of the Empire in the fields of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Taxation and Social Welfare.

The most interesting chapter in the book is the second which treats of Agriculture and Land Tenures and the author has collected in it information which whets the appetite far more, especially in regard to tenures by service and about the exoduses from overtaxed villages, as well as the means and method of resettlement and rehabilitation following such migrations. This chapter is based mostly on inscriptions and demonstrates the superior value of its source by being more realistic and absorbing than, for instance, the chapter on Trade and Commerce which is derived from the accounts of foreign travellers.

The economic history again proves how permanent has been the pattern of existence in India. During the three centuries it surveys there is no perceptible change to record. Kings and nobles, courtiers and traders, peasants and artisans seem to have gone through their allotted spans without depart-

ing from custom or tradition. This chronic immobility which is the outstanding characteristic of our country must be studied with care by all our social historians. What was it that secured this perpetual social harmony and unfailing individual acquiescence over the ages and prevented social and economic change or revolution? Dr. Mahalingam notes and deplores (p. ii, p. 198) the great disparity between the rich and the poor and the exploitation of the one by the other. Yet our economic history should have been very different if our people had at any time been conscious of economic class as the people of the West have been intermittently in the past and now continuously for over a century. We therefore require new frames of reference, a philosophy of history more appropriate to our land, and a vaster store of classified fact to gain a definitive understanding of our socio-economic past. Dr. Mahalingam's excellent book may be expected to stimulate interest in all these directions and help to start the flow of regional studies which are the prolegomena to an economic history of South India.

R. Bhaskaran

Paryayaratnamala of Mādhavakara and Paryayamuktavali of Haricaraṇadāsa. Edited by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, Patna. Pp. x+142, 1946; and iv+136, 1947.

Both the above works are standard medical lexicons and the thanks of students of Ayurveda and Lexicography are due to Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury for bringing out handy and correct editions of these works. The Paryāyaratnamālā by Mādhavakara (7th-8th cent.) whose Rugviniścaya, better known as Mādhavanidāna, is a very popular treatise on the subject, is a synonymous nighaṇṭu, with a section on homonyms and another on measures (māna) and technical terms (paribhāṣā). In all, the work treats about 6,200 words. This work is of high authority being the oldest extant medical lexicon save for the Dhanvantarīya-nighaṇṭu. The manuscripts give at the end of each verse or half-verse, as the case may be, the Bengali equivalent of the term treated, and that is given in the present edition also.

The Paryāyamuktāvalī of Haricaraṇadāsa, a native of Bengal, is also a synonymous lexicon, based on the above work, from which it takes many lines with little alteration; but it has re-arranged the matter in a number of homogeneous sections

and added much matter from other sources. In the last two sections it borrows freely from the Amarakośa. The work confines itself to materia medica and treats about 5,000 words. In this work also Bengali meanings of Sanskrit words are given by the side of the verses.

Both the works have been carefully edited from ample manuscript material; variants are noted and emendations, wherever supplied, are given within brackets. Informative introductions are prefixed to both the editions and the exhaustive glossory of medical terms and materia medica given at the end greatly facilitate the use of these lexical works. Textual notes are also given for the former work.

K. V. SARMA

KHANDAGIRI-UDAYAGIRI CAVES. By T. N. Ramachandran and Chotalal Jain. Published by Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Digambara Jain Tirtha Kshetra Committee, Calcutta, 1951.

The Khaṇḍagiri-Uḍayagiri Caves in Kalinga are of great importance in the history of Jainism. They date from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. and number as many as sixty-five. The Hāthī Gumphā cave and its inscription of king Khāravẹla (2nd cent. B.C.) are well-known. Some of the other important caves here are the Rāṇī Gumphā (2nd cent. B.C.), the Mañchapurī caves and the Gaṇeś Gumphā (1st cent. B.C.). These contain sculptures and inscriptions of historical and religious value.

Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, who has long specialised in Jain art and archaeology has here, in collaboration with Sri Chotalal Jain, produced an attractive brochure on these caves, carrying six plates, and printed on excellent art-paper. The descriptive part cites the inscriptions, identifies the sculptures and discusses their historical significance. The Magadha-Kalinga relation is clarified on the basis of the Khāravela epigraph. It is said on p. 9 that the Rāṇī Gumphā has a representation of the royal hunt of a deer which recalls the opening scene of the Śākuntala; this, not reproduced in the brochure, deserves further examination and elucidation, especially because this whole series is said to contain a rich pageant.

V. RAGHAVAN

PURVAMIMAMSASUTRAVRTTI—BHAVABODHINI. By H. H. Vidyāśaṅkara Bhāratī Svāmi, Karavīr Mutt, Kolhapur. Published by the Mutt. 1951. pp. 3, 19, 50, 794. Rs. 10.

Important among the later independent expositions of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā Sūtras of Jaimini are Pārthasārathi Miśra's Śāstradīpikā, Mādhava's Nyāyamālā, Khaṇḍadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā in the Bhāṭṭa school, and Bhavanātha's Nayaviveka and other works in the Prābhākara school. When the Sūtras themselves came to be neglected, to revive the study of the Sūtras direct vṛttis came to be written on the Sūtras by later Mīmāṁsakas. Rāmeśvarasūri wrote a Vṛtti called Subodhinī; Khaṇḍadeva wrote the Mīmāṁsā-Kāustubha, which however, ends with the 3rd pāda of chapter III. We have a few more such direct commentaries. It is gratifying to note that His Holiness the Śaṅkarācārya of Karavīr Pīṭh has written a new commentary on the Jaiminisūtras, which will be welcomed by all scholars interested in Mimāṁsā.

In explaining the Sūtras the author has mostly followed the Subodhinī of Rāmeśvarasūri. As pointed out in the Introduction, each adhikaraṇa (section) has the component parts subject matter (viṣaya), doubt (saṁśaya), prima facie view (pūrvapakṣa), final view (siddhānta) and relevency (saṅgati). It would be easy for a beginner to grasp the purport of each adhikaraṇa if all these are given in detail; but the commentator has preferred to omit the saṁśaya throughout and pūrvapakṣa in sections where there are no specific sūtras for that. It is his opinion that they can be made out by the careful reader. In interpreting the Sūtras the author has differed in some places from Śabarasvāmin and Rameśvarasūri. E.g. (p.1, sūtra 2) अर्थः स्वर्गादीष्टं as against अर्थः इष्टसाधनं in the Bhāṣya and Subodhinī; (p. 36, sūtra 5) आरम्भः अपूर्वं, यतः चोदना as against चोदना अपूर्वं, यतः आरम्भः in the Bhāṣya. The gender of words in some places is misleading. Eg. (p. 153) पूतिकायाः. Here the author uses feminine for pūtikā while it is used in the masculine elsewhere; vide पूतिकानभिषुणुयात् (Vedic citation in Mīmāṁsā), पूतिकः कलिमारकः (Amara). तत्साधनो यः (तस्य साधनः तत्साधन) (p.1, sūtra 2): here the word sādhana is used in the masculine.

The work carries also a good Sanskrit Introduction by Prof. Huparikar wherein we find a short summary of the

whole Śāstra. The following points here call for some, comment:

1. It would be better to say कर्मापरपर्यायः धर्म एवाभ्युदयोपायत्वेन गणितः than मोक्षोपायत्वेन as the author follows the path of Śrī Śaṅkara.

2. p. 2, line 8, निर्णयश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं should be सङ्गतिश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं as Nirṇaya has been stated by the word उत्तरम् ।

3. p. 3, line 9, प्रमाणत्रयं संयोजयति should be पदार्थत्रयं etc., as Śakti etc. are only padārthas.

4. p. 5, line 16, भावनाजनकं and p. 8 line 14, भावनाजनकं should be भावनाबोधकम् ।

5. p. 6, line 10, अभिहितान्वयवादिनो नैयायिकाः should be अभिहितान्वयवादिनो मीमांसकाः as the Naiyāyikas do not follow the doctrine of abhihitānvayavāda.

Indices of the adhikaraṇas and the Sūtras could have been added.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI

SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By K. Chandrasekharan and V. H. Subramania Sastri. (The P. E. N. Books: Indian Literatures). Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay-1. pp. 300. Rs. 6.

The P. E. N., Indian Branch, under the organizational zeal of Sreemati Sophia Wadia, has done valuable service to the cause of Indian Letters. The Indian Literatures Series planned by the Indian P. E. N. have served their purpose admirably by giving a bird's-eye-view of the contributions and achievements in the creative and critical sphere of the various languages of the country. The inclusion in this Series of Sanskrit which forms the basis and inspiration of all Indian literature, and continues still to be cultivated as a medium of original expression and whose increasing influence is seen even in modern Western literature, is to be welcomed.

Mr. K. Chandrasekharan is well known for his devotion to Sanskrit literature; his articles in leading Indian periodicals on subjects of literature and art have earned for him a place among significant writers, critics and constructive interpreters of the varied aspects of Indian culture. Here he offers us an

outline account of the history of Sanskrit literature in collaboration with Sri V. H. Subramania Sastri of the Madras Sanskrit College.

The book is in two parts: an account and an anthology. In the former attention is devoted to the language besides the different branches of literature like the Purāṇas, the Śāstras and the poems and the plays. The authors have not ignored the fact of the continuity of this literature and have made mention of some of the more noteworthy contemporary writers in Sanskrit. The anthology is done with a selective eye and represents the wide variety of works in Sanskrit.

The volume is indeed a handy companion for those who want to have an insight into the treasures of this ancient literature.

MANJERI S. ISWARAN

THE EASTERN CALUKYAS OF VENGI. By Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph. D. Published by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry and Bros., 4, Mallikeswarar Koil South Lane, Linghi Chetty Street, G. T., Madras. Price Rs. 15.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya adds one more feather to his cap by the publication of the work under review, the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgi. The work was planned by the author as Reader in Indian History in the Madras University in collaboration with Sri M. Venkataramayya, then working as a Research Assistant for Mackenzie Mss. work. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, the original plan could not be carried through. The author acknowledges with thanks the spade work done by Sri M. Venkataramayya. The work has now been published with the University's permission.

The only source-material for writing the history of the Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgi is inscriptions, chiefly, copper-plate records which number nearly one hundred. As there is no literature in Telugu prior to Rājarāja Cāḷukya, son of Vimalāditya and patron of Nannayabhaṭṭa, the author of the Telugu *Mahābhāratam*, all history either political, social or economic, has to be reconstructed from facts gleaned from the copper-plate charters issued by the kings of this dynasty. As these records generally contain references to their wars and victories and

furnish their pedigrees, the history reconstructed from such defective material has to be essentially political rather than social or economic. However, mere enumeration of all the facts gleaned from the copper-plate records doesn't even make political history. The researcher has to take into consideration all the facts furnished by the copper-plate records, co-ordinate them with the facts known about the neighbouring contemporary dynasties, try to determine the political relations that existed between them and weave the web of history. Dr. Venkataramanayya's is the first attempt in that direction in English regarding the history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgi.

The author has taken into account all the facts known till now, both about the Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgi and their neighbouring contemporary dynasties. The early part of this work contains chapters on the sources, the origin and caste of the Cāḷukyas, the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology, the early history of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi and the history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas as described in their inscriptions. Then the author deals with the successive reigns of the Cāḷukyan kings. The last chapter is about administration. The book contains three appendices, one on the commencement of the rule of Kulōttuṅga I in Vēṅgi, and the other two on Dramiḷāhava or Cauḷikaraṇa of Śaktivarman I and the till now unpublished Penneru copper-plate grant of Śaktivarman I. In addition to these, the work contains two maps, a complete geneaological table of the Eastern Cāḷukyas and an excellent detailed index.

The author has identified some of the hitherto unidentified persons mentioned in the E. Cāḷukyan grants, and corrected some of the errors hitherto committed regarding some of the dates and events. He has taken pains to reconstruct the history of the Raṣṭrakūṭa—Eastern Cāḷukya wars from the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, Krishṇa I and the Cōḷa—Western Cāḷukya wars as far as they relate to Vēṅgi. Until very recently, the part played in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa wars by the Cāḷukya chiefs of Lēmulavāḍa, the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was not known. The author has taken into account all the facts known both from the inscriptions of this dynasty and the works written by the Jain authors under their patronage, and thrown light on many obscure points.

Another important contribution of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya to the history of the E. Cāḷukyas is his settling the place of Bādapa and Tāḍapa in the Cāḷukyan chronological framework. Till now it was thought that these two brothers known only from the Arumbaka, Siripuṇḍi and Interu records, ruled in the period of interregnam of twenty-seven years, after the reign of Dānārṇava and prior to that of Śaktivarman I. Now, the author proves that their reign-period falls within the reign of Amma II Vijayāditya whom they had driven away with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and occupied the throne of Vēṅgi for a time.

Some of the reigns like those of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, Vijayāditya VII and some others are very well reconstructed and the treatment bears the stamp of thoroughness. The work is a valuable addition to the literature on Telugu history.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

வாயிலின் வரூஉம் வகையொடு தொகைஇக்
கிழவோன் செப்பல் கிழவ தென்ப.

Avaṉ-aṟi v-āṟṟu v-aṟiyu m-ākaliṉ
Eṟṟaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-u niṟuttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Urimai koṭutta kiḻavōṉ pāṅkiṉ
Perumaiyiṟ ṟiriyā v-aṉpiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Kiḻavaṉai makaṭūu-p pulampu-peri t-ākaliṉ
Alamaral perukiya kāmattu mikutiyum
Iṉpam-u m-iṭumpai-y-u m-ākiya v-iṭattum
Kayan-talai tōṉṟiya kāmar ney-y-aṇi
Nayanta kiḻavaṉai neñcu puṇ-ṇ-uṟīi
Naḷiyi nīkkiya viḷi-varu nilai-y-um
Pukaṉṟa v-uḷḷamoṭu putuvōr cāyaṟkū
Akaṉṟa kiḻavaṉai-p pulampu-naṉi kāṭṭi
Iyaṉṟa neñcan talai-p-peyar-t tarukki
Etir-peytu maṟutta vīrattu maruṅkiṉ-um
Taṅkiya v-oḻukkattu-k kiḻavaṉai vaṇaṅki
Eṅkaiyark k-urai-y-eṉa v-irattaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Cellā-k kālai-celk-eṉa viṭuttalum
Kāma-k kiḻatti taṉ-maka-t taḻīi
Em-uṟuviḷaiyāṭ ṭ-iṟuti-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Ciṟanta ceykai y-av-vaḻi-t tōṉṟi
Aṟam-puri neñcamoṭu taṉ-vara v-aṟiyāmai-p
Puṟañ-ceytu peyarttal vēṇṭiṭat tāṉum
Tantaiya r-oppar makkaḷ-eṉ pataṉāl
Antamil ciṟappiṉ maka-p-paḻittu neruṅkiṉum
Koṭiyōr koṭumai cuṭum-eṉa v-oṭiyātu
Nal-l-icai nayantōr colloṭu tokaii-p
Pakutiyi nīṅkiya takuti-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Koṭumai y-oḻukkaṅ kōṭal vēṇṭi
Aṭi-mēl vīḻnta kiḻavaṉai neruṅki-k
Kāta-l-eṅkaiyar kāṇi naṉṟ-eṉa
Mātar cāṉṟa vakaiyiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Tāyar kaṇṇiya nal-l-aṇi-p putalvaṉai
Māya-p parattai y-uḷḷiya vaḻi-y-um
Taṉ-vayiṟ ciṟaippiṉ-u mavaṉ-vayiṟ pirippiṉ-um
Iṉṉā-t tol-cū ḷ-eṭuttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Kāma-k kiḻatti nalam-pā rāṭṭiya
Tīmaiyiṉ muṭikkum poruḷiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Koṭumai y-oḻukkattu-t tōḻik k-uriyavai
Vaṭu-v-aṟu ciṟappiṟ kaṟpiṟ ṟiriyāmai-k
Kāytal-u m-uvattal-um pirittal-um peṭṭal-um

Ā-vayiṉ varūum pal-vēṟu nilaiyiṉum
Vāyiliṉ varūum vakaiyōṭu tokaii-k
Kiḻavōḷ ceppal kiḻava t-eṉpa.

The wife is entitled to have her say on the following occasions:—(1) when she speaks highly of her husband on account of her intimate knowledge of his scholarship,[1] (2) when she supports (the statement of her friend referring to his qualities), (3) when she is attached to him keeping up her dignity on his giving her certain rights, (4) when she is overpowered with passion during his long separation from her, (5) when she is in mirth and misery, (6) when she insults her husband with wounding words asking him not to approach her when he eagerly offers himself to give the ceremonial bath to the child at birth, (7) when she suggests her willingness, though outwardly refuses to allow him to approach her by exhibiting her keen resentment at his separation while he was in loving company with concubines at the time of her weakness after delivery, (8) when she prostrates before her husband who was in company with concubines and sarcastically requests him to express the words addressed to her in the presence of her younger sisters (concubines), (9) when she asks him to go away on his standing before her, (10) when the faithful concubine embraces her child and feels delighted on completing her play with him; (11) when the husband stands behind his wife without being known to her while she is playing with her child, and wants to rid her of the anger towards him so that he may act up to *dharma* (12) when she goes near the child accusing him that he is like his father as is said in the *Vēdas*; (13) when she gives up the love-quarrel and yields to him at the words of the great men effecting reconciliation without dismissing him saying that she was afflicted at his harsh treatment,[2] (14) when she tells him sarcastically that his prostration would be welcomed if done before her younger sisters (*i.e.*) concubines after feeling that she had to excuse him for his company with other women (15) when she pre-

---

1. *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's* meaning is this: When she is preferred to other wives by the priests in sacrifices on account of her intimate knowledge of her husband's scholarship in Vedas etc.

2. *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's* meaning is this: When she unhesitatingly tells him that she was afflicted at her heart on account of his harsh treatment in company of those who praise him.

tends to revile her child on seeing that he is provided with ornaments by his father's concubines, (16) when she confines her child with her, (17) when she alienates herself from the child when he goes with the father, (18) when she takes a cruel vow, (19) when she reviles the faithful concubine at his showing kindness towards her, (20) when she, telling her friend about her husband's company with concubines such things as fit in with her dignity, feels angry with him, reconciles herself to him, spurns him and meets him in conjugal union and behaves with him in diverse similar ways and (21) when *pāṇaṉ* and others intercede.

Note 1. Those that intercede are brahmans, husband's friend, wife's friend, *pāṇaṉ* (man-musician), *viṟali* (woman-musician), *kūttar* (dancer) etc.

Besides,

146. புணர்ந்துடன் போகிய கிழவோன் மனையிருந்து
இடைச்சுரத் திறைச்சியும் வினையுஞ் சுட்டி
அன்புறு தக்க கிளத்த றானே
கிழவோன் செய்வினைக் கச்ச மாகும்.

Puṇarnt-uṭaṉ pōkiya kiḻavōṉ maṉai-y-iruntu
Iṭai-c-curat t-iṟaicci-y-um viṉai-y-uñ cuṭṭi
Aṉp-uṟu takka kiḷatta ṟāṉ-ē
Kiḻavōṉ cey-viṉai-k k-acca m-ākum.

Reference with sweet words to the suggestive words and actions of the husband in the forest when she accompanied him before their marriage, by the wife at home is a source of check to the husband in giving her promise of anything to her.

Besides,

147. தோழியுள் ளுறுத்த வாயில் புகுப்பினும்
ஆவயி னிகழு மென்மனார் புலவர்.

Tōḻi-y-uḷ ḷ-uṟutta vāyil pukuppiṉum
Ā-vayi ṉikaḻu m-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that such sayings may be found before *pāṇar* and others who are allowed to go before the wife by her friend.

What are the occasions for the wife's friend to have her say?

148. பெறற்கரும் பெரும்பொருண் முடிந்தபின் வந்த
தெறற்கரு மரபிற் சிறப்பின் கண்ணும்
அற்றமழி வுரைப்பினு மற்ற மில்லாக்
கிழவோட்[1] சுட்டிய தெய்வக் கடத்தினும்
சீருடைப் பெரும்பொருள் வைத்தவழி மறப்பினும்
அடங்கா வொழுக்கத் தவன்வயி னழிந்தோளை
அடங்கக் காட்டுதற் பொருளின் கண்ணும்
பிழைத்துவந் திருந்த கிழவனை நெருங்கி
இழைத்தாங் காக்கிக் கொடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
வணங்கியன் மொழியான் வணங்கற் கண்ணும்
புறம்படு விளையாட்டுப் புல்லிய புகர்ச்சியும்
சிறந்த புதல்வனைத் தேராது[2] புலம்பினும்
மாணலந் தாவென வகுத்தற் கண்ணும்
பேணு வொழுக்க நாணிய பொருளினும்
[3]சூள்வயிற் றிறத்தாற் சோர்வுகண் டழியினும்
பெரியோ ரொழுக்கம் பெரிதெனக் கிளந்து
பெறுதகை யில்லாப் பிழைப்பினு மவ்வழி[4]
உறுதகை யில்லாப் புலவியின்[5] மூழ்கிய
கிழவோள் பானின்று கெடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
உணர்ப்புவயின் வாரா வூடலுற் றோள்வயின்
உணர்த்தல் வேண்டிய கிழவோன் பானின்று
தான்வெகுண் டாக்கிய தகுதிக் கண்ணும்
அருமைக் காலத்துப் பெருமை காட்டிய
[6]வெளிமைக் காலத் திரக்கத் தானும்
பாணர் கூத்தர் விறலிய ரென்றிவர்
பேணிச் சொல்லிய குறைவினை யெதிரும்
நீத்த கிழவனை நிகழுமாறு படீஇயர்[7]
காத்த தன்மையிற் கண்ணின்று பெயர்ப்பினும்
பிரியுங் [8]காலத் தெதிர்நின்று சாற்றிய
மரபுடை யெதிரு முளப்படப் பிறவும்
வகைபட வந்த கிளவி யெல்லாம்
தோழிக் குரிய வென்மனார் புலவர்.

Peṟaṟk-arum perum-poruṇ muṭinta-piṉ vanta
Teṟaṟk-aru marapiṟ ciṟappiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um

---

1. கிழவோன் (இளம்.); கிழவோள் (நச்.)
2. தேராது (இளம்.); நேராது (நச்.)
3. சூள்வயின் (இளம்.); சூணயத்து (நச்.)
4. அவ்வழி (இளம்.); அவ்வயின் (நச்.)
5. புலவியின் (இளம்.); புலவியுள் (நச்.)
6. வெளிமை (இளம்.); வெண்மை (நச்.)
7. படீஇயர் (இளம்.); படீஇ (நச்.)
8. காலத்து (இளம்.); காலை (நச்.)

Aṟṟam-aḻi v-uraippiṉu m-aṟṟa m-illā-k
Kiḻavōṭ cuṭṭiya teyva-k kaṭattiṉum
Cīr-uṭai-p perum-poruḷ vaitta-vaḻi maṟappiṉ-um
Aṭaṅkā v-oḻukkat t-avaṉ-vayi ṉ-aḻintōḷai
Aṭaṅka-k kāṭṭutaṟ poruḷiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Piḻaittu-van tirunta kiḻavaṉai neruṅki
Iḻaittāṅ k-ākki-k koṭuttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Vaṇaṅkiyaṉ moḻiyāṉ vaṇaṅkaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Puṟam-paṭa viḷaiyāṭṭu-p pulliya pukaṟciyum
Ciṟanta putalvaṉai-t tērātu pulampiṉum
Māṇalan tā-v-eṉa vakuttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pēṇā v-oḻukka nāṇiya poruḷiṉum
Cūḷ-vayiṟ ṟiṟattāṟ cōrvu-kaṇ ṭ-aḻiyiṉum
Periyō r-oḻukkam perit-eṉa-k kiḻantu
Peṟu-takai y-illā-p piḻaippiṉu m-a-v-vaḻi
Uṟu-takai y-illā-p pulaviyiṉ mūḻkiya
Kiḻavōḷ pāṉiṉṟu keṭuttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Uṇarppu-vayiṉ vārā v-ūṭal-uṟ ṟōḷ-vayiṉ
Uṇarttal vēṇṭiya kiḻavōṉ pāṉiṉṟu
Tāṉ-vekuṇ ṭ-ākkiya takuti-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Arumai-k kālattu-p perumai kāṭṭiya
Veḷimai-k kālat t-iṟakkat tāṉ-um
Pāṇar kūttar viṟaliya r-eṉṟ-ivar
Pēṇi-c colliya kuṟai-viṉai y-etirum
Nītta kiḻavaṉai niṟalumāṟu paṭīiyar
Kātta taṉmaiyiṟ kaṇṇiṉṟu peyarppiṉum
Piriyuṅ kālat t-etirniṉṟu cāṟṟiya
Marap-uṭai y-etiru m-uḷappaṭa-p piṟa-v-um
Vakai-paṭa vanta kiḻavi y-ellām
Tōḻik k-uriya v-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

The wife's friend has her say on the following occasions: (1) When (the husband) speaks appreciative words on careful consideration after their great object (marriage) of rare achievement has been accomplished, (2) when she tells him that their sufferings are over, (3) when she tells him that offerings should be given to gods with reference to the wife who escaped from the slander of the public, (4) when the husband forgets the important duty to his wife (in the midst of festivities), (5) when she convinces the wife who is unnerved at the thought that her husband is of suspicious character, that he is not really so, (6) when she makes the husband and the wife meet after approaching the former with her request

while he stands away from his wife having been in company of concubines, (7) when she bends before him with words of supplication, (8) when the husband is wrongfully engaged in outside sportive activities, (9) when the husband stands separated from his wife forgetting even his son[1], (10) when the husband is asked to bring back the beauty, health etc. of his wife for the loss of which he is responsible, (11) when the wife feels ashamed of her husband's company with concubines, (12) when the wife is disheartened at the husband not keeping up his word, (13) when he fails in an undignified manner to meet his wife, though he has said that it is wise to follow the great,[2] (14) when she ends the love-quarrel by going near the wife who is immersed in grief at the undignified behaviour of the husband, (15) when she shows her temper towards the husband with the idea of ending the love-quarrel when the lady does not agree with his wishes,[3] (16) when he is the object of mercy during *karpu*, though he was an object of veneration during *kaḷavu*, (17) when she opposes *pāṇar*, *kūttar* and *viṟaliyar* while they intercede, (18) when she mercilessly prevents the husband from seeking the company of concubines in order that he may lead a happy life with his wife at least in future though he neglected her company before, (19) when she addresses him in the traditional way on his separation from his beloved (on account of war etc.).

What are the occasions for *kāmakkiḻattiyar* to have their say?

149. புல்லுதன் மயக்கும் புலவிக் கண்ணும்
இல்லோர் செய்வினை யிகழ்ச்சிக் கண்ணும்
பல்வேறு புதல்வர்க் கண்டுநனி யுவப்பினும்
மறையின் வந்த மனையோள் செய்வினை
பொறையின் றுபெருகிய பருவரற் கண்ணும்
காதற் சோர்விற் கடப்பாட் டாண்மையின்

1. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is this: when the husband is refused admission by his wife even at the intercession of the son page 14.

2. *Peṟu-takai il-l-āka* is interpreted by *Iḷampūraṇar* "his dignity vanishing" and by *Naccinārkkiniyar* "dignity being the essence of household life."

3. The object of *vekuṇṭu* according to *Iḷampūraṇar* is *talaivan* and according to *Naccinārkkiniyar*, *talaivi*.

தாய்போற்[1] கழறித் தழீஇய மனைவியைக்
காய்வின் றவன்வயிற் பொருத்தற் கண்ணும்
இன்னகைப் புதல்வனைத் தழீஇ யிழையணிந்து
[2]பின்னை வந்த வாயிற் கண்ணும்
மனையோ ளொத்தலிற் றன்னோ ரன்னோர்
[3]மிகையெனக் குறித்த கொள்கைக் கண்ணும்
எண்ணிய பண்ணையென் றிவற்றொடு பிறவும்
கண்ணிய காமக் கிழத்தியர் மேன.

Pullutaṉ mayakkum pulavi-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Illōr cey-viṉai y-ikaḻcci-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pal-vēṟu putalvar-k kaṇṭu-naṉi y-uvappiṉum
Maṟaiyiṉ vanta maṉaiyōḷ cey-viṉai
Poṟai-y-iṉṟu perukiya paruvaraṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Kātaṟ cōrviṟ kaṭappāṭ ṭ-āṇmaiyiṉ
Tāy-pōṟ kaḻaṟi-t taḻīiya maṉaiviyai-k
Kāyv-iṉ ṟ-avaṉ-vayiṟ poruttaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Iṉ-ṉakai-p putalvaṉai-t taḻīi y-iḻai-y-aṇintu
Piṉṉai vanta vāyiṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Maṉaiyō ḷ-ottaliṟ ṟaṉṉō r-aṉṉōr
Mikai-y-eṉa-k kuṟitta koḷkai-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Eṇṇiya paṇṇai-y-eṉ ṟ-ivaṟṟoṭu piṟa-v-um
Kaṇṇiya kāma-k kiḻattiyar mēṉ-a.

The faithful concubines have the following occasions to have their say: (1) when the lover is away from them when he is in the company of his wife, (2) when they slander the action of their lover and his wife, (3) when they delight in the company of different children holding the relationship of sons, (4) when they are in distress not capable of putting up with his actions with another lady in *kaḷavu*, (5) when they arrange for his union with his wife acting the part of the foster-mothers and without bearing any ill-will towards her on account of the laxity of their passion and good-will towards his wife, (6) when they embrace their son with sweet smile and provide him with ornaments and do not then yield to the wishes of other interceders, (7) when they consider that, since they are equal to the lover's wives, other ladies are unnecessary, (8) when they sport with the lover etc.

---

1. கழறித் தழீஇய (இளம்.); தழீஇக் கழறியும் (நச்.)
2. பின்னை (இளம்.); பின்னர் (நச்.)
3. மிகை யென (இளம்.); மிகைபட (நச்.)

Note 1. *Iḷampūraṇar* says that *kāma-k-kiḻattiyar* are of diverse types: the wives belonging to castes other than that of the lover and concubines who are faithful. *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* holds that the latter alone deserve the name.

What is the duty of the interceders?

150. கற்புங் காமமு நற்பா லொழுக்கமும்
மெல்லியற் பொறையுந் நிறையும் வல்லிதின்
விருந்துபுறந் தருதலுஞ் சுற்ற மோம்பலும்
பிறவு மன்ன கிழவோன் மாண்புகள்
முகம்புகன் முறைமையிற் கிழவோற் குரைத்தல்
அகம்புகன் மரபின் வாயில்கட் குரிய.

Kaṟpuṅ kāmam-u naṟ-pā l-oḻukkam-um
Mel-l-iyaṟ poṟai-y-un niṟai-y-um vallitiṉ
Viruntu-puṟan tarutal-uñ cuṟṟa m-ōmpal-um
Piṟa-v-u m-aṉṉa kiḻavōṉ māṇpu-kaḷ
Mukam-pukaṉ muṟaimaiyiṟ kiḻavōṟ k-uraittal
Akam-pukaṉ marapiṉ vāyilkaṭ k-uriya.

The interceders who can go into the residence of the husband are used to tell him about his wife's chastity, love, good conduct, forbearance, sublimity, giving warm welcome to guests, carefully attending to the wants of his relatives and attendants and other good qualities.

What is the duty of the foster-mother?

151. கழிவினு[1] நிகழ்வினு மெதிர்வினும் வழிகொள
நல்லவை யுரைத்தலு மல்லவை கடிதலும்
செவிலிக் குரிய வாகு மென்ப.

Kaḻiviṉ-u nikaḻviṉ-u m-etirviṉ-um vaḻi-koḷa
Nallavai y-uraittal-u m-allavai kaṭital-um
Cevilik k-uriya v-āku m-eṉpa.

They say that the foster-mother has the right to advise her what she, in the past, present and future, should do and what she should avoid.

What is the duty of the learned?

152. சொல்லிய கிளவி யறிவர்க்கு முரிய.

Colliya kiḷavi y-aṟivarkku m-uriya.

The learned are entitled to advise her the same.

---

1. நிகழ்வினு மெதிர் வினும் (இளம்.)
2. வரவினு நிகழ்வினும் (நச்.)

धनमित्राय तां नीत्वा तस्करोऽहमिति ब्रुवन् ।
सम्भाव्येत(वितः?) परं तेन प्रहर्षद्रवदात्मना ॥ ५२ ॥

तया स(ह पुरीमेनां) जिहासन्तं निवार्य तम् ।
आसितव्यमिहैव स्यात् प्रज्ञाशैथिल्यमन्यथा ॥ ५३ ॥

तन्नयाव स्वमावासमिमामित्यमुना सह ।
नीत्वा पितुर्गृहं सर्वं मुषित्वा निरयासिषम् ॥ ५४ ॥

मार्गे मत्तगजं दृष्ट्वा तेनार्थपतिमन्दिरम् ।
लुप्त्वा मुक्त्वा च तं भूयः प्राप्यालयमशेवहि ॥ ५५ ॥

श्रुत्वा मासावधिं प्रातर्विवाहं तमुपह्वरे ।
धनमित्रमथावोचमाचक्ष्वैवं नरेश्वरम् ॥ ५६ ॥

देव! मह्यमनुज्ञाय वर्धितां मयि दुर्विधे ।
कुबेरदत्तः स्वां कन्यामन्यस्मै दित्सतीत्यहम् ॥ ५७ ॥

असून् जिहासुरादिष्टः केनापि जटिना वने ।
नैर्धन्यमूलं मत्वैतद्दत्त्वा मे चर्मभस्त्रिकाम् ॥ ५८ ॥

मन्त्रसिद्धोऽहमस्माभिः साधितेयमिहानया ।
कृतकृत्यश्चिरं भूत्वा विशामि जरसा रसाम् ॥ ५९ ॥

अन्यायात्तं धनं कृत्वा तस्यैवान्यच्च विप्रसात् ।
आराधिता सती प्रातः स्वर्णपूर्णा भवत्यसौ ॥ ६० ॥

वणिग्भ्यो गणिकाभ्यो वा दुग्धे चेयं मदन्यतः ।
ईदृशः कल्प इत्युक्त्वा श्वावच्छिद्रमथाविशत् ॥ ६१ ॥

देवानुमत्या भोक्तव्येत्यसावप्यनुमंस्यते ।
न कश्चिदेनं मुष्णीयादित्युक्त्वा स्वगृहं व्रजेः ॥ ६२ ॥

लप्स्यसे च ततः कन्यां जनश्चौर्यश्च नो भवेत् ।
इत्यादिष्टः स हृष्टात्मा यथोक्तमनुतस्थिवान् ॥ ६३ ॥

कदाचित् काममञ्जर्या भगिनी रागमञ्जरी ।
नर्तयामास नृत्यन्ती चित्त(जेन समं म)नः ॥ ६४ ॥

धनमित्रः स्मरार्तं मामवबुध्येदमब्रवीत् ।
धन्या सा गणिकाकन्या यैवं त्वन्मनसि स्थिता ॥ ६५ ॥

भावस्तस्यास्त्वयि व्यक्तः स्मरास्त्रव्यथिता(निशम् ।
गुणशुल्काहमित्या)स्ते सा निषेधति च स्वसा ॥ ६६ ॥

चिन्त्यं कृत्यमिहेत्यस्या ज्यायस्या पणितं मया ।
मुषित्वा चर्मरत्नं ते दद्यां देया यदि स्वसा ॥ ६७ ॥

मूढया बाढमित्युक्ते........................ ।
........................भूयान्वभवं प्रियाम् ॥ ६८ ॥

भूत्वार्थपतिगृह्यो मे प्रणिधिः स विमर्दकः ।
निजस्यो(र्भर्त्स्यो ?)दारकं चर्मस्तेयं द्योतयति स्म सः ॥ ६९ ॥

..................................दितः ।
आहूयार्थपतिं भूपस्तस्याह्वानमचोदयत् ॥ ७० ॥

स तु मद्ग्राहिताभिज्ञः प्रागेवोज्जयिनीं गतः ।
॥ ७१ ॥

त्वाम...........................भिया ।
क्रोधादर्थपतौ कारां प्रापिते काममञ्जरी ॥ ७२ ॥

विरूपकाय दत्वार्थं निस्वीभूताजिनाशया ।
धनमित्रमु..........................वताम् ॥ ७३ ॥

आर्तेनैव मया चोक्ता विविक्ते काममञ्जरी ।
प्रायो रहस्यनिर्भेदादाहूतासि त्वयोदिते ॥ ७४ ॥

हते च मयि बालेयं न जीवे......... ।
................तमित्यथ बन्धकी ॥ ७५ ॥

तदद्यार्थपतौ रूढं निर्देक्ष्यामि ततो हृतम् ।
इति क्ष्मापसमीपे सा तमेवाचष्ट तस्करम् ॥ ७६ ॥

उदारकगिरा राज्ञा स जी........... ।
..........स्वैरं परिणीतवति प्रियाम् ॥ ७७ ॥

तच्चौर्यात्तत् पुरं जातं व्यत्यस्तार्थिधनिव्रजम् ।
अथाहं चोरयामीत्थं पा.......... ॥ ७८ ॥

............भिर्मुक्तो मदेनापि तयापदा ।
धनमित्रः प्रिया चेमौ रक्ष्याविति विचिन्तयन् ॥ ७९ ॥

सृगालिकां प्रियाप्रेष्यां.............. ।
......धनमित्रस्य तस्याश्चाजिनमौक्तिके ॥ ८० ॥

मुषित्वा कृतकृत्योऽहामेत्थं संगतयोरिति ।
क तन्निहितमित्यस्य पत........... ॥ ८१ ॥

.......च्छलात् कर्णे कर्तव्यं कथितं मया ।
रक्षिभिश्चारकं नीतस्तदध्यक्षेण भूयशः ॥ ८२ ॥

चर्मरत्नप्रदानाय भर्त्सितो ना........ ।
.......................सृगालिका ॥ ८३ ॥

फलितस्त्वन्नयः प्रोक्तो धनमित्रस्तथा मया ।
न्यवेदयन्नृपायासौ मित्रवत् कोऽपि तस्करः ॥ ८४ ॥

मुष्णन्नजिनरत्नं मे रक्षिभिर्निश्चयगृह्यत ।
तन्मे दापयितुं देवः प्रसीदत्विति भूपतिः ॥ ८५ ॥

प्रत्यर्पयितुकामस्तदद्य त्वां न जिघांसति ।
धात्रीमुखेन संसृज्य राजपुत्रीं परं मया ॥ ८६ ॥

अम्बलालिकानुसक्ते मय्यतिस्निग्धाभवच्च सा ।
ततः कान्तकनामानं दत्तं बन्धनरक्षिणम् ॥ ८७ ॥

कामार्ता राजकन्या त्वां विलोक्येति व्यलोभयम् ।
उच्छिष्टवासताम्बूलवस्त्रव्यतिकरादिना ॥ ८८ ॥

अप्रकाश्यैव कन्यायाः स दूरमुदमाद्यत ।
सुरुङ्गया प्रवेष्टव्यं त्वयान्तरिति मद्गिरा ॥ ८९ ॥

सुरुङ्गाकरणाय त्वमुन्मत्तेन मुमुक्षितः ।
इत्थं तयोपनीतेन प्रतिश्रुत्य विमोचनम् ॥ ९० ॥

मुक्तबन्धः सुरुङ्गामप्यखनं बन्धनोदरात् ।
निह्नुत्य निह्नुनिष्यन्तं निह्नत्यैनं सुरुङ्गया ॥ ९१ ॥

गत्वा कन्यापुरं तस्मिन् मोषाय कृतनिश्चयः ।
प्रज्ज्वलन्मणिदीपं तं प्रविश्य नृपकन्यकाम् ॥ ९२ ॥

विस्रब्धसुप्तामद्राक्षं निद्रानिभृतविभ्रमाम् ।
शशिमण्डलसंकाशपर्यङ्कतलशायिनीम् ॥ ९३ ॥

शरदम्बुधरोत्सङ्गशय्यामिव शतह्रदाम् ।
तस्करस्यापि मे चेतस्तयैव मुषितं तदा ॥ ९४ ॥

अशरीरशराविद्धो नावबुद्धोऽस्मि किञ्चन ।
अनाश्लिष्यन्न शक्नोमि स्थातुमाश्लिष्टया ध्रुवम् ॥ ९५ ॥

क्रन्दिष्यते तदत्रैवं कर्तव्यमिति चिन्तयन् ।
आलिख्य तदवस्थां तामार्यैश्च फलके क्वचित् । ९६ ॥

अलिखं मत्प्रतिच्छन्दं तत्पदद्वन्द्वगोचरम् ।
.... ॥ ९७ ॥

त्वामयमाबद्धाञ्जलि
दासजनस्तमिमर्थमर्थयते ।
स्वपिहि मया सह सुरत-
व्यतिकरखिन्नैवमेव त्वम् ॥ ९८ ॥

इत्थं निष्क्रम्य कश्चिन्मे बद्धो नागरिकः सुहृत् ।
एवं हतः कान्तकस्ते लभ्यं निर्भिद्य तत्पदम् ॥ ९९ ॥

इत्थं तमभिधायाथ प्रस्थितः ससृगालिकः ।
मार्गे नागरिकापाते वायुग्रस्त इवाभवम् ॥ १०० ॥

ययाचे सा तु मन्माता भूत्वा मद्ग्रहणाय तान् ।
किमप्यबद्धमुक्त्वाहं धावितः सान्वधावत ॥ १०१ ॥

उन्मत्तमेव मत्वा मां विनिवृत्तेषु रक्षिषु ।
गत्वास्मद्वणिकावासं तयैवागमयं निशाम् ॥ १०२ ॥

सम्भूय सुहृदान्येद्युः प्रत्यापन्नात्मतेजसः ।
मरीचेरवबुद्ध्यैवं भवत्प्राप्तिमवास्थिषि ॥ १०३ ॥

कान्तकस्यापचारं तन्निधनञ्च निवेदयन् ।
कारकाधिकृतश्चक्रे राज्ञा नागरिकः स मे ॥ १०४ ॥

तन्मुखेन तया गत्या गत्वान्तः समगंसि च ।
मृगालिकोक्तमद्वार्तारक्तया राजकन्यया ॥ १०५ ॥

चण्डवर्मबलाक्रान्ते तस्मिन्नेवान्तरे पुरे ।
अमर्षणे रणे क्षिप्रं गृहीते चण्ड(सिंह?)वर्मणि ॥ १०६ ॥

बलादम्बालिकां बालामपहृत्य प्रियां मम ।
प्रवृत्ते परिणेतुञ्च प्रचण्डे चण्डवर्मणि ॥ १०७ ॥

अहं तस्योत्सवोद्देशं प्रविश्य निभृतायुधः
अजिग्रहं करं मृत्योस्तत्करग्रहणोन्मुखम् ॥ १०८ ॥

वेपमानां प्रियामन्तःपुरं प्रापय्य निष्पतन् ।
देवदर्शननामैतद् भागधेयमयासिषम् ॥ १०९ ॥

इति प्रीतः प्रशस्यैतन्निशम्य नृपनन्दनः ।
उपहारमथापृच्छत् स बद्धाञ्जलिरभ्यधात् ॥ ११० ॥

एषोऽप्यहं विदेहेषु कदाचित्तापसीगृहम् ।
विश्रमायाविशं सा मद्दर्शनादश्रुमुख्यभूत् ॥ १११ ॥

अनुयुक्ता मया दीर्घं निश्वस्योवाच तापसी ।
प्रहारवर्मा नन्वत्र श्रूयते मिथिलेश्वरः ॥ ११२ ॥

स पुरा मगधान् गत्वा विक्रम्य तुमुले मृधे ।
प्राणितः स्वपुरं गच्छन्निरुद्धः पथि लुब्धकैः ॥ ११३ ॥

तत्सुतेन करस्थेन भ्रष्टाहं सार्थविद्रवे ।
व्याघ्रक्षता क्षणं जह्रे बालस्त(स्कर)दारकैः ॥ ११४ ॥

अरक्ष्ये वृष्णिपालेन स्वस्थायां मयि मत्सुता ।
तत्रागत्याब्रवीत् सर्वं शबरग्रहणं शिशोः ॥ ११५ ॥

किरातेनात्मनो रक्षा वधस्तस्योद्विवक्षतः ।
स्वदेशजेन यूनासीदात्मोद्वाहः समागमः ॥ ११६ ॥

इति श्रुत्वोपसृत्येमां पुंसा तेन समं पुरीम् ।
अदहाव महादेव्याः श्रोत्रे पुत्रकवार्तया ॥ ११७ ॥

स राजा ज्येष्ठपुत्रेण दैवाद् विकटवर्मणा ।
चिरं निगृह्य बद्धोऽभून्नीता देव्यपि बन्धनम् ॥ ११८ ॥

साहं प्रव्रजिता देवीं सुता मे कल्पसुन्दरीम् ।
अभजत्तौ सुतौ स्यातामद्य त्वत्सदृशाविति ॥ ११९ ॥

श्रुत्वाहमपि जा(ताश्रुः) सोऽहमस्मि तवात्मजः ।
अलमस्मि च तं हन्तुं न जानन्त्यत्र मां जनाः ॥ १२० ॥

इत्युक्त्वा ग्राहिताहारो हर्षनिर्भरया तया ।
देवीमुखेन तं हन्तुं किञ्चिज्जाल(मचिन्तयम्) ॥ १२१ ॥

तस्यान्तःपुरवृत्तान्तं मयि पृच्छति सा सुता ।
तत्रोपेत्य प्रहृष्टा मां निशम्याचष्ट तत्प्रिया ॥ १२२ ॥

रूपशीलवयोरम्या कलासु कृतकौशला ।
भर्तारमभिभूयास्ते नित्यशूरमदक्षिणम् ॥ १२३ ॥

इत्याकर्ण्य तया तस्मिन् देव्यास्तत्समनिन्दया ।
अनुरूपवरस्त्रीणां स्तुत्या वैरमवीवृधम् ॥ १२४ ॥

कुसुमादिप्र(दानेन) प्रवणायां मदाकृतेः ।
दर्शनाद्बद्धभावायाः कामोन्मादमवर्धयम् ॥ १२५ ॥

(एतावानेवायं ग्रन्थ उपलब्धः)

———

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory......... A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.—......This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle." 12th December, 1926.—................ The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review." November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research.................The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning........

"New India," 20th December, 1926.—.............The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th Feburary, 1927.—............The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.—...............The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work....

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.—......It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.—.........I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the orginality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions....

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MADRAS

GOVERNING BODY

PRESIDENT:

Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, LL.D., K.C.I.E.
Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.
Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, LL.D., D.SC.

TRUSTEES:

Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.
Rao Bahadur A. A. Venkatarama Iyer.

TREASURER:

Sri M. Subbaraya Iyer, B.A., B.L.

MEMBERS:

Rao Bahadur Prof. D. S. Sarma.
Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.
Prof. P. N. Srinivasachariar.
Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer.
Sri N. Raghunathan.
Sri T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T.

SECRETARIES:

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, B.A., B.L.
Prof. A. Shanmukha Mudaliar, M.A.
Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D.

RESEARCH COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN:

Prof. M. Hiriyanna.

VICE-CHAIRMAN:

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

MEMBERS:

Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai.
Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., PH.D.
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.PHIL.
Dr. A. Sankaran, M.A., PH.D.
Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A.

EX-OFFICIO:

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, B.A., B.L.
Prof. A. Shanmukha Mudaliar, M.A.
Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. (*Correspondent for the Journal*).

All Communications should be addressed to the Correspondent, Journal of Oriental Research, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras.

PRINTED BY N. RAMARATNAM, M.A., B.L., AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS
55 & 56 MUNDAKANNI AMMAN KOIL STREET, MYLAPORE, MADRAS.
PUBLISHED BY K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, KSRI., MYLAPORE, MADRAS.